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FOR

SOCIALISM

AND

PEACE

The Labour Party's Programme of Action

PRICE TWOPENCE

Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1

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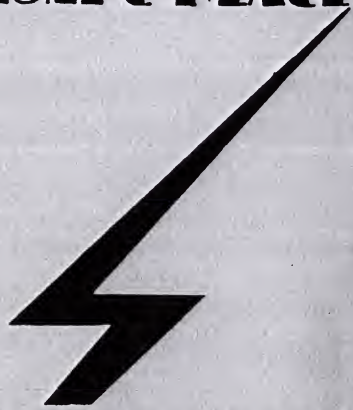

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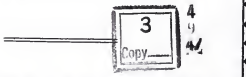

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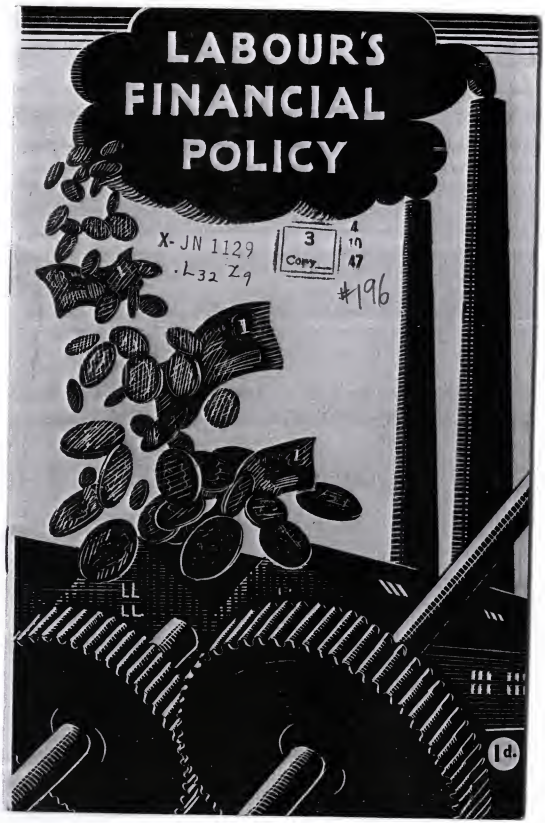
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By the Rt. Hon.
HERBERT MORRISON, J.P., L.C.C.

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#199

A NATION WITHOUT POVERTY

●

LABOUR'S PLANS FOR ORGANISING A PROSPEROUS BRITAIN

ONE PENNY

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#200

Civilisation in Peril

DEAR NEIGHBOUR,

Do you BELIEVE in WAR?

We must ABOLISH WAR—That is LABOUR'S POLICY.

"The true formula of PATRIOTISM is the equal right of all countries to liberty and justice and the duty of every citizen to strengthen liberty and justice in his own country." COLONIES AND PROTECTORATES should be, not Possessions, but a SOLEMN TRUST held in the interests of the native inhabitants until they are fully capable of self-government. In the political and economic Commonwealth of free peoples in free association, the very thought of war will have vanished.

But we must firstly GET RID OF THE IDEA that peoples, through their GOVERNMENTS, MAY DO WHAT THEY PLEASE. They must accept the authority of the League of Nations as a beginning, at least, of the Parliament of Man.

All Governments have agreed, by the COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS or the BRIAND-KELLOGG PACT, or both, not to go to war. The peoples must ENFORCE RESPECT FOR THESE TREATIES.

British Labour will resist any British Government which breaks this solemn pledge. If we should be attacked, we would, of course, defend ourselves. But we should accept the guidance of the Council of the League of Nations in bringing the conflict to an end, if the attacking party did the same.

No nation in Europe can defend itself against any combination of possible enemies in Europe. Even the British Empire cannot stand alone.

Therefore, Governments must have a Foreign Policy. The best policy is a League Policy. And that is Labour's Policy. War can never be a private quarrel. Everybody gets mixed up in it sooner or later, somehow or other. Therefore nations should agree, and the Members of the League of Nations have already agreed, to stand together and refuse to do any trade or business with any Government which refuses peaceful settlement and goes to war, and even, in certain circumstances, to oppose it by force.

Governments will not lead their peoples into war when defeat is certain. They may then learn the arts of civilisation and peace.

There is something else equally important. Governments cannot make war without both men trained in the art of war and equipped with the weapons of war. If Governments are short of soldiers and do not possess the most dangerous and offensive weapons, they have little chance of a sudden and overwhelming victory. That is why naval and military aircraft, for example, should be abolished by international agreement and heavy guns should be forbidden.

There must, of course, be some system of inspection by which each country will know that the other is observing the agreement.

The WAR PROFITEER is AN ENEMY OF PEACE. He creates war scares. He sends arms to nations at war merely for his personal gain. This traffic should be under international control, and the private manufacture and sale of armaments should be abolished.

If war is ever to be abolished, a beginning must be made. The peace-loving nations must observe the new rules amongst themselves.

WAR IS THE ENEMY OF JUSTICE. Peaceful change only becomes possible when Force and Conquest yield to Reason and Toleration.

Yours sincerely,

JIM BLUNT.

Gift
The Labour Party
October 1, 1935

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.L32 29

#201

Labour's Banking Policy will give Greater Security for...

Small Savers

At present huge amounts of small investors' money—often saved over many years out of small wages to give security in old age or ill health—are lost.

In the last boom £50,000,000 was lost in one year in this way by unsound company flotations. Many old people, widows and others were made almost destitute.

Labour, by setting up a National Investment Board to control company flotations, will safeguard the genuine small investors and prevent the financial shark from growing rich out of other people's savings.

Bank Depositors

Under Labour's Plan of a National Banking Corporation the Joint Stock Banks would be merged, overhead costs and wasteful directors' fees would be reduced **and the banks would not be allowed, as at present, to finance Stock Exchange speculation on a large scale or lend huge sums to the Hatrys and Kreugers of the future as they did in the past. Advances would only be made for sound purposes.**

Depositors would have behind them the whole credit of the nation just as holders of Savings Certificates—recognised as the best security in the world—have to-day.

The Genuine Business Man

At present it is much easier for City speculators to obtain financial assistance than it is for the small business man or industrialist who is carrying out work of national advantage. As Sir William Perring, Chairman of the National Chamber of Trade, declared before the MacMillan Committee :—

"We cannot be free from anxiety as to the difference in the attitude of the banks to legitimate industry and to the more speculative side of financial operations."

Labour will see that sound business has the first claim on credit and that—

THE SMALL SAVER HAS A FAIR DEAL.

VOTE LABOUR

P.T.O.

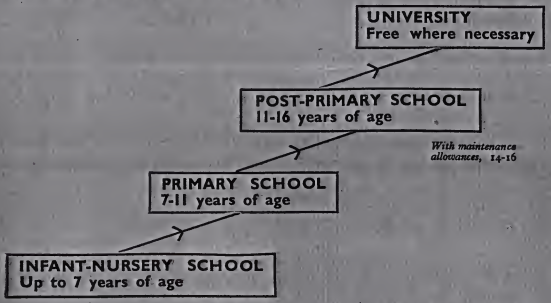
X- JN 1129
.L32 Z9

#202

OPPORTUNITY FOR RICH AND POOR ALIKE—LABOUR'S EDUCATIONAL PLAN

Education is a fundamental national service. It is accepted by all political parties that all children should be entitled to free elementary education. . . .

The Labour Party goes further and demands that every child should be entitled to free secondary education—and that no child, capable of profiting, should be debarred from a university education because of the lack of means of its parents.



LABOUR STANDS FOR COMPLETE EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY, AND FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SYSTEM UNDER WHICH THE QUALITY OF THE EDUCATION OFFERED CHILDREN HAS DEPENDED ON THE INCOME OR SOCIAL POSITION OF THEIR PARENTS.

VOTE LABOUR

AND GIVE THE CHILDREN A FAIR CHANCE

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F 203

"PROSPERITY" PICTURES

During the summer of 1934 the B.B.C. broadcast a series of talks under the title "Time to Spare." The talks were given by unemployed men and wives of unemployed. Here is an extract from a talk given by a Lancashire woman on June 2, 1934 :—

> **"There's many a time I puts my children to bed a bit early in case they'll ask for a bit of bread, and I'm afraid it won't last for breakfast. You daren't reckon up from one day to another what you've got."**

That Lancashire woman was the mother of six children. Her husband was unemployed, and she was trying to keep a family of eight on the amount received under the Means Test imposed by the "National" Government.

Here is another picture of "prosperity" under "National" rule. It is a news item which appeared in the Tory "Daily Mail" on February 6, 1934 :—

> **"A poignant tragedy of the wife of an unemployed man, who starved herself to provide food for her children and then took her own life, was revealed at a St. Pancras inquest yesterday on Mrs. H., aged 33, of Bolton Road, Hampstead, who was found gassed in her home.**
>
> **"Dr. W. J. O'Donovan, who made a post-mortem examination, said that Mrs. H. was definitely in the first stage of starvation."**

AND YET THE TORY CHANCELLOR HAS DECLARED THAT UNDER "NATIONAL" RULE THE COUNTRY HAS RECOVERED "80 PER CENT. PROSPERITY"!

TO ACHIEVE REAL PROSPERITY IN WHICH ALL WILL SHARE

VOTE LABOUR

Leaflet No. 36 (10/35/1m.). Printed by the Leicester Co-operative Printing Society Ltd. and Published by the Labour Party. Price 4s. per 1,000, carriage paid, from the Labour Publications Dept., Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

X-JN 1129
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#204

WHAT ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT?

Not only has the "National" Government cruelly attacked the unemployed, but it has no policy for dealing with unemployment. Its attitude is one of despair :

> **"We cannot look forward with any confidence to a reduction of unemployment to comparatively small figures within the next ten years."**

That is the confession of Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it is the official Government view. Was there ever anything so helpless and hopeless ?

THE ONLY SOLUTION

The Labour Party believes that unemployment can be reduced drastically and speedily by Government action. A tremendous effort is needed ; but if unemployment could be abolished during the War, it can surely be tackled in time of peace ?

1. A GREAT PROGRAMME OF ESSENTIAL PUBLIC DEVELOPMENT.—This involves a complete overhaul of the public services—roads and bridges, sewers, water supply, land drainage, houses, schools, hospitals, electrification of the railways, and many other developments.

2. THE RECONDITIONING OF THE DEPRESSED AREAS.—A first step in dealing with the depressed areas is to clear derelict sites and buildings, and re-plan and develop the public services, so that industry can be attracted instead of repelled.

3. THE REORGANISATION OF OUR INDUSTRIES.—Our basic industries as a whole are unplanned and inefficient in many respects. They must be replanned, re-equipped and set on their feet, and this can only be successfully done under public ownership and control.

These are definite steps which a Labour Government would start taking immediately. Labour also has its long-term policy for dealing with unemployment and abolishing poverty—these three steps are the essential beginnings of that policy and will bring unemployment tumbling down.

> **The "National" Government has refused to take any action on these lines—it has no policy to smash unemployment.**

●

VOTE FOR

LABOUR

AND DETERMINED ACTION

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UNEMPLOYMENT
IS
THE REAL ISSUE

AT THE PRESENT MOMENT

Over 2,000,000 workers unemployed. One worker out of every seven jobless. Over 4,000,000 men, women and children directly affected.

DURING THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS

4,000,000 workers unemployed for some part of the time. 9,000,000 men, women and children directly affected within a single year.

SOME INDUSTRIES

In Shipbuilding and Public Works contracting, 2 persons out of 5 are unemployed. In Docks, Harbours, etc., 1 out of 3. In Mining, Shipping and Marine Engineering, 1 out of 4. In Cotton, Wool and Iron and Steel, 1 out of 5. In Fishing and Tailoring, 1 out of 6. In Building, and the Boot and Shoe Trade, 1 out of 7.

SOME DISTRICTS

In Durham County, Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, Pembrokeshire and Wales as a whole, one third of the workers are unemployed. In Ross and Cromarty, 1 out of 2. In Anglesey, Breconshire, Banffshire, Caithnessshire and Sutherland, 2 out of 5. In Cumberland, Northumberland, Buteshire, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, and several Welsh Counties, 1 out of 4. In Cheshire, Lancashire and Scotland as a whole, 1 out of 5.

THAT IS THE POSITION AFTER FOUR YEARS OF SO-CALLED "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT"

ONLY LABOUR WILL SMASH UNEMPLOYMENT

[P.T.O.

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.L32Z9

#206

APPALLING HEALTH RECORD OF "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT

One of the most dreadful things done by the "National" Government was its attack on the public health services.

In order to save a few pounds, it brought to a standstill many developments initiated or contemplated by the Labour Government of 1929-31.

It is a solemn fact that because of the deliberate action of the "National" Government, mothers died who would not otherwise have died, children died who would not otherwise have died, and men, women and children are now doomed to ill-health who might otherwise have been cured.

That is but the simple truth.

Here are some of the "National" Government's "economies":—

1. **MATERNAL MORTALITY.**—In a single year 3,000 women die in childbirth, and nearly half of this is preventable.

   The Labour Government had a comprehensive preventive scheme in preparation; but the "National" Government has done nothing in four years.

2. **SCHOOL MEALS.** The "National" Government has laid it down that school meals should not be provided for necessitous children until a doctor certifies that the child is under-nourished!

   This means that a local authority would have to cease feeding children whom it is keeping in good health, and then wait until they become ill-nourished before feeding them again. Little wonder that the British Medical Association disagrees!

3. **HEALTH INSURANCE AND THE UNEMPLOYED.**—In 1932, the "National" Government deprived thousands of unemployed persons of all Health Insurance benefits after prolonged unemployment. Not until 1935, after a great public outcry, did the Government remedy matters, then largely at the expense of the Approved Societies.

P.T.O.

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HOUSEWIVES!–Look at this!

GOVERNMENT BUNGLING INCREASES FOOD PRICES

The "National" Government decided to control the supply of foodstuffs. There is, of course, an overwhelming case for planning the supply in order to avoid big price fluctuations—but that was not what the Government did.

Only results count—and here they are :

BACON PRICES UP !

Supplies of Danish bacon have been restricted by the Government, although the British farmer has not been able to produce enough to fill the gap.

Prices have therefore shot up.

The average price of streaky bacon was 10½d. per lb. in November, 1932, when restriction began. In August, 1935, it was 1s. 1½d., an increase of one-third.

We are now paying as much for 7,600,000 cwts. of imported bacon as we paid for 11,340,000 cwts. in 1932.

MILK PRICES UP !

Since the Milk Marketing Board began operations (it is not a public body, although set up by the Government), the summer price of milk per quart has risen as follows :

1933	5½d.
1934	5½d.
1935	6d.

Consumers are now paying £5,000,000 per year more than when the Board began, for the same quantity of liquid milk.

POTATO PRICES UP !

Import of potatoes, prohibited except under Board of Trade licence.

Home potatoes restricted as to size and weight.

Restrictions, together with frost, caused potato famine in summer, 1935.

Prices for 7 lbs. were increased as follows :

1933 ...	June, 5½d.	July, 7½d.
1934 ...	„ 5d.	„ 8½d.
1935 ...	„ 6½d.	„ 11d.

BREAD PRICES UP !

The Bread Tax was introduced in 1932, in order to subsidise the farmer —but it is the ordinary consumer who pays.

The quartern loaf now costs ½d. more than in 1932, and 1d. more than in 1931.

As a result of the tax, the consumers paid about £4,500,000 more in 1932-33 and £7,180,000 in 1933-34.

BETWEEN 1931 AND 1934, THE "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT DOUBLED THE AMOUNT OF FOOD TAXES—AN INCREASE OF £19,300,000.

THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IS TO MAKE THE POOR PAY.

VOTE LABOUR

[P.T.O.

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THE PEACE BALLOT

What about the great PEACE BALLOT?

The Labour Party and thousands of Labour workers gave their aid.

The Executive Committee of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations declined the invitation to co-operate.

"BOOBY TRAP," said the "Daily Mail." "FLUMMERY," wrote the "Morning Post."

Mr. Baldwin said that it gave opportunities—

"to the unscrupulous propagandist who is always with us to use that very ballot . . . for party politics of the lowest character." (Glasgow, 23rd November, 1934).

Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, Colonial Secretary, called it—

"an insidious campaign . . . against the Government . . ." No honestly thoughtful man could answer the questions. (Hendon, 5th November, 1934.)

Sir Austen Chamberlain was most abusive :—

"The result will be claimed by its promoters as a national verdict. To me it appears little better than an attempt to obtain subscriptions by a FRAUDULENT PROSPECTUS." ("Times," 12th November, 1934.)

Mr. A. Duff Cooper, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, with great conceit, said :—

"I advise everybody not to answer the questions in the League of Nations Union Ballot." (London, 15th November, 1934.)

NEARLY 12,000,000 PERSONS ANSWERED THE QUESTIONS.

Then, having failed to smash the Ballot, the National Government claimed the results as a National Verdict for the National Government.

Sir Samuel Hoare, 11th September, 1935 :—

"The recent response of public opinion shows how completely the nation supports the Government in the full acceptance of the obligations of League Membership which is the oft-proclaimed key-note of its foreign policy." (Assembly of the League of Nations, 11th September, 1935.)

How about this for "PARTY POLITICS OF THE LOWEST CHARACTER?"

If Italy and France had believed that this was always Britain's Foreign Policy there would have been no war in Abyssinia.

IT WAS ALWAYS LABOUR'S POLICY.

VOTE LABOUR

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plan. And then, in its fear, the "National" Government acted—too late.

Never for a century has Britain's foreign policy been so weak, so stupid. Elected to office, in 1931, with the biggest majority ever known, the "National" Government had so much power that it could have done anything.

All it did was to set back the Clock of Progress, betray the workers, enforce cuts, subsidise farming and tramp shipping, and yet build such high tariff walls that, as international trading was killed, who wanted ships, anyway?

Yet, strong though it looked, it trembled when the people of England spoke.

"Tear up the Ballot papers," it shouted when the Peace Ballot was planned. "We won't be dictated to."

Its supporters in the Commons had jeered for months whenever a Labour M.P. mentioned the League of Nations. Then 11,000,000 people voted in the Peace Ballot—and the "National" Government trembled. Tory newspapers hid the facts from the public.

* * *

Even the "Times" omitted all mention of London's great Peace vote. But the "National" Government trembled. It shivered in its shoes, and had to support the League of Nations after all.

If, all through its life, it had stood by the League Covenant, to which it was pledged, Europe would not now be arming to the teeth. For all that waste in armaments, the "National" Government must take the blame.

I indict the "National" Government because in four years it has robbed the workless of £80,000,000—£6,000,000 "saved" in cuts for three years and £15,000,000 a year saved for four years by the imposition of a cruel Means Test that has broken up thousands of homes and split thousands of families.

Scared by the outcry about this, it steam-rolled through the Commons a Bill placing millions of workless people at the mercy of a new Unemployed Assistance Board responsible to nobody.

"We will take the unemployed out of politics," it said, meaning it wanted the blame put on someone else. Within a few weeks, the unemployed were back in politics! Because of the nation's anger, the Unemployed Assistance Board's regulations were scrapped. Although that was months ago, no new regulations are yet in force!

Then it appointed Commissioners for the Distressed Areas, giving them, though, merely a paltry £2,000,000 for "schemes." When these Commissioners reported, they reported against the Government. Then Sir Malcolm Stewart had to sit in the Gallery and listen to the Government disowning him, its own Commissioner!

* * *

I indict the "National" Government because, at a time when food is bountiful, when it has become too cheap—Heavens, what a tragic joke!—Sir John Orr, Britain's greatest authority on nutrition, declares that 20,000,000 British people have not enough to eat.

I have listened, in the Commons, to Tory M.P.s representing the Distressed Areas pleading to the Government in vain. Yes, they were less afraid even of Neville Chamberlain than they were of their own constituents.

I indict the "National" Government for lying on the walls about the "Prosperity" it has brought about. "We are back to 80 per cent. of our old prosperity," declared Neville Chamberlain.

Yet Tyneside is dead; all the basic industries of Glasgow are dead; South Wales is a dead land; Liverpool has been ruined by Protection; Lancashire, generally, is in a sorry plight.

These "Prosperity" posters cover up walls on factories that are falling in ruins. You find them in such places as Brynmawr, where there are 94 per cent. unemployed!

If we are back to "80 per cent. prosperity," why are the miners earning, to-day, less than half of what they earned in 1920? When, pleading for a living wage, they march in procession through colliery villages for which there is no hope, they see on the walls "Prosperity" posters which make a mock of their misery.

No, the People have lost in the last four years. But the slum owners have won. Peace has been betrayed. But armament shares are mounting up.

"Get the dug-outs ready," advises the Government to local authorities. "You are in peril from the air."

Yet it was this Government which stopped the abolition of bombing aircraft at the Disarmament Conference! Lord Londonderry, when he was Air Minister, boasted of this. He is proud of it. And so aircraft manufacturers wax rich. Three financiers made a profit of £1,000,000 in a few weeks, merely by selling their own shares.

No, the "National" Government has fooled and failed. Now, taking advantage of the fact that the Labour Party supports a League of Nations policy that it had to force on the Government so that Europe might be saved, the "National" Government is rushing an election and asks again that you should vote for it.

Give it, not your vote, but your pity.

VOTE LABOUR

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#210

1932: In February, 1932, when the Disarmament Conference met, the "National" Government was still unprepared—fourteen years after the Great War! All they could suggest was that

Armies should have smaller guns;
Big battleships should not be quite so big;
Submarines should be abolished; and
Bombing from the air should be "examined."

They rejected the Plan of President Hoover (United States) that the arms of the world should be reduced by one-third, and that all tanks and bombing planes should be abolished.

Lord Londonderry boasted that he "Had the utmost difficulty at that time, amid the public outcry, in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane even on the frontiers of the Middle East and India." (House of Lords, *May* 22, 1935.)

They opposed every proposal for the International Inspection of the state of a country's armaments.

They opposed every proposal for the Internationalisation of Civil Aviation.

They wanted time to think it over.

They never agreed at any time that the weapons forbidden to Germany would be abolished or be permitted to Germany.

Germany re-armed when the "National" Government was pretending that Germany was still disarmed.

Britain was demanding that Germany should remain disarmed whilst refusing to disarm herself.

The "National" Government pretended not to know that Germany was re-arming.

When they found out, they cried "Quits."

That is the true story of the British "National" Government's efforts at disarmament.

VOTE LABOUR

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#211

TRUTH ABOUT THE 'NATIONAL' GOVERNMENT

In a leading article on December 4, 1934, dealing with the "National" Government's lack of policy on Unemployment and the Distressed Areas, "The Times" said:

> **"The criticism which the Government are meeting does not really arise out of the appointment of Commissioners and the wide powers entrusted to them, BUT IS DUE RATHER TO THE ABSENCE OF A CLEAR INDICATION OF WHAT, IN SUM, IS THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IN RELATION TO UNEMPLOYMENT.**
>
> **"Friends of the Government have asked anxiously for the framework of a larger policy—in fact, for a programme."**

"The Times" returned to the attack in a leading article on December 18, 1934, in which it said:

> **"A poster announcing the great recovery that has taken place and the increase of 900,000 in the number of employed persons DOES NOT DISSIPATE THE ARMY OF MORE THAN 2,000,000 PERSONS WHO ARE, NEVERTHELESS, UNEMPLOYED."**

On June 2, 1934, the "Morning Post," which all good Tories read, contained a leading article entitled "Shilly Shally." And this is what the "Morning Post" said about the Government:

> **"It is impossible any longer to maintain silence concerning the grave public anxiety which is being aroused by the indecision and lack of coherence in the present conduct of British foreign policy."**

Three days earlier, the "Morning Post" published a slashing attack on the Government, from which we quote the following:

> **"Truth to tell, the Government convey an unmistakeable impression of indecision and inertia in their handling alike of domestic and external affairs. In vain does one search for evidence of a coherent policy directed towards a clear and intelligible goal."**

VOTE LABOUR

Leaflet No. 44 (10/35/500m). Published by the Labour Party, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1. Printed by the Leicester Co-operative Printing Society Ltd. Price 4s. per 1000, carriage paid, from the Labour Publications Dept., Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

X-JN 1129
.L32 Z9

#212

RECORD OF "NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT

RECORD UNEMPLOYMENT 1932-1935—NOW OVER 2,000,000

During the past twelve months, no less than 4,000,000 persons have been unemployed for some part of the time.

RECORD NUMBERS ON POOR RELIEF

Under the "National" Government, there has been an increase of 500,000 in the number of men, women and children receiving outdoor relief.

RECORD REDUCTION IN WORK SCHEMES FOR UNEMPLOYED

The "National" Government has abolished unemployment grants for schemes of work, and cut capital developments in local authority services.

RECORD ATTACK ON UNEMPLOYED THROUGH FAMILY MEANS TEST

Between 1931 and 1935, the "National" Government handed over millions of unemployed to the Poor Law, to be treated as if they were applying for poor relief. It is still imposing the dreadful family means test which breaks up family life.

RECORD NEGLECT OF DISTRESSED AREAS

The "National" Government has done practically nothing for the distressed areas, and their terrible condition gets worse and worse.

RECORD REDUCTION IN BUILDING HOUSES TO LET

The "National" Government has cut down the building of municipal houses to let by two-fifths.

RECORD BUNGLING IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

What a Record!

VOTE LABOUR

[P.T.O.

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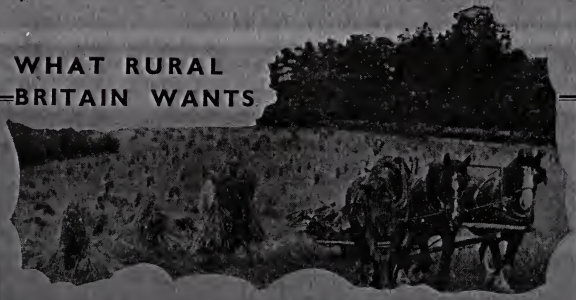
#213

WHAT RURAL BRITAIN WANTS



Do you want prosperous farms and well-paid agricultural workers ?

Support Labour's Agricultural Policy.

Do you want thriving shops and prosperous markets ?

Support Labour's Agricultural Policy.

Do you want a proper water supply and safety from floods ?

Support Labour's Water Supply and Land Drainage Policy.

Do you want adequate transport facilities with reasonable fares and proper wages and conditions for the workers ?

Support Labour's Transport Policy.

Do you want cheap and plentiful electricity ?

Support Labour's Electricity Programme.

Do you want a thriving building industry, good and cheap houses, and the amenities of your town preserved ?

Support Labour's Housing and Town Planning Policy.

Do you want your local unemployed re-absorbed in local industries ?

Support Labour's Industrial Plan.

Do you want peace at home and abroad ?

Support Labour and Co-operation instead of Competition.

Do you want free and efficient primary and secondary education for your children ?

Support Labour's Education Programme.

Do you want secure possession of your home ?

Support Labour's Policy for the Abolition of the "Tied" Cottage, and Labour's Rent Policy.

Do you want maintenance for the agricultural unemployed ?

Support Labour's Policy for Unemployment Insurance for Agricultural Workers.

TO GET WHAT YOU WANT

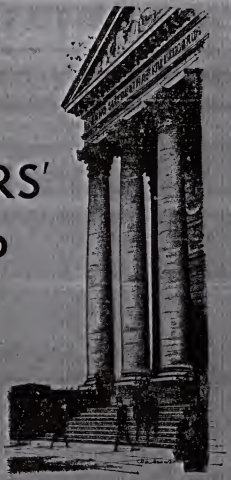
VOTE LABOUR

X-JN1129.L3279

#214

END

THE FINANCIERS' DICTATORSHIP



The Labour Party stands for the Public Ownership and Control of the Nation's Banking and Credit System.

The Bank of England is the only important Bank of its kind in the world which has no form of Government control. It is controlled mainly by international Bankers whose business is money lending.

THE MONEYLENDERS CONTROL THE NATION'S FINANCIAL POLICY.

This is how they do it:—

"These men who have mishandled the money question not merely advise us what to do, but establish a veto upon every proposal which is made for national development. They have always been against a progressive Government."

Mr. Lloyd George, House of Commons, February 12, 1931.

IT WAS THE BANKERS WHO DEMANDED THE CUTS IN UNEMPLOYMENT PAY AND THE OTHER "ECONOMIES" AT THE EXPENSE OF THE POOR IN 1931.

This is what the anti-Labour "Daily Express" said on April 13, 1932:—

"The Bank of England, which owes no responsibility to the electorate, dictates the Government's financial policy . . . The Government must be master in its own house; and the Bank of England must be relegated to its rightful place as the servant of the Nation."

★ THAT IS WHAT ★
THE LABOUR PARTY PROPOSES TO DO.

VOTE LABOUR

P.T.O.

X-JN 1129
.L32Z9

#215

ANOTHER TORY LIE NAILED

The Conservative Party has issued amongst its advance election propaganda literature a leaflet (No. 3466) which is almost chock-full of false statements.

It asserts as official aims of Labour :—

"THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO GOVERN AS DICTATORS."

"PARLIAMENT TO BE ROBBED OF MOST OF ITS POWER."

The Tory assertions are dishonest in fact and discreditable in purpose.

The object of the Conservative Central Office is to work up an election scare against Labour—to deceive the electors into believing that Labour will tear up the Constitution, destroy Democracy, establish Dictatorship, and deprive Parliament of its authority.

Their crude lying has been publicly unmasked by the Leader of the Conservative Party himself.

Mr. Baldwin delivered in the House of Commons on May 22nd, 1935, *a complete repudiation of these unscrupulous Tory charges :—*

> **"The Labour Party as a whole has helped to keep the flag of Parliamentary Government flying in the world through the difficult periods through which we have passed . . . .**
>
> **"I want to say that, partly because I think it is due, and partly because I know that they, as I, stand in their heart of hearts for our constitution and for our free Parliament, and what has been preserved in the world against all difficulties and against all dangers."**

The Times (May 23rd, 1935) described this statement as a "moving and well-deserved tribute to the Labour Opposition for their persistence, in spite of their exiguous numbers, in preserving the traditions of a Free Parliament."

ELECTORS REMEMBER

THE LABOUR PARTY STANDS FOR FULL, FREE AND EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY
EFFICIENT PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT
ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR ALL

VOTE LABOUR FOR SOCIALISM AND PEACE

Leaflet No. 31 (6/35/200). Price 4s. per 1000, carriage paid from the Labour Publications Dept., Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1. Printed by THE VICTORIA HOUSE PRINTING CO. LTD. (T.U. all Depts.), Tudor Street, London, E.C.4.

X-JN 1129
.L32 Z9

#216

"NATIONAL" GOVERNMENT'S REAL RECORD

OVER £60,000,000 PLUNDERED FROM UNEMPLOYED

OVER £20,000,000 INCREASE ON WAR PREPARATIONS

OVER 128,000 CHILDREN & YOUNG PERSONS WITHOUT WORK

OVER 2,000,000 PERSONS WITHOUT WORK

OVER 1,500,000 ON POOR RELIEF

AND THE MEANS TEST THAT BREAKS FAMILY LIFE

SUPPORT LABOUR

and Help to End Poverty and War

Leaflet No. 32 (9-35-250). Printed by The Victoria House Printing Co. Ltd., and published by the Labour Party. Price 6/- per 1,000, carriage paid, from the Labour Publications Dept., Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

LABOUR'S POLICY

FOR THE COUNTRYSIDE

#217
X-JN 1129
.L32 Z9

FLOODS AND WATER FAMINES

Every year that passes provides dramatic demonstrations of the failure of the present Land System and the need for intelligent Socialist effort.

AT ONE TIME, wholesale floods.

AT ANOTHER, water scarcity paralysing large districts and villages without decent water supplies.

FLOODS AND DRAINAGE

Floods that could be prevented occur nearly every winter and do enormous damage.

There are more than 2,000,000 acres of GOOD land "urgently in need of drainage."

Labour passed the Land Drainage Act of 1930 which, if energetically applied for ten years, would prevent all this.

It would also

Provide work for tens of thousands of men.
Save multitudes of homes from unnecessary desolation.
Bring large areas of good land into use.

The Plans are ready. The Powers are provided.

The "National" Tory Government REFUSES TO USE THIS ACT.

VOTE LABOUR

AND GET ON WITH THE JOB

X- JN 1129
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#218

THIS IS THE ONLY WAY

By FRANCIS WILLIAMS

THERE is in this country an intense dissatisfaction with the existing state of things. No man of feeling and intelligence indeed can look at the economic structure of to-day, at the contrast of extreme poverty and flamboyant wealth, or consider the tragic paradox of want alongside potential plenty and avoid a profound anger that we should, out of the wealth put in our hands by the scientific and mechanical ingenuity of our race, be building so poor a civilisation.

That we are not making a good job of our social life is admitted on all hands. And everywhere men and women are trying to plan solutions, but too often they are afraid to get to the root of the trouble. They cling with pathetic faith to surface remedies and shy away from the radical alteration in the economic structure of society that their own diagnosis demands. To that radical alteration the name Socialism has been given, and it is the purpose of the Labour Party, by applying that method, to bring out of the shifting chaos of to-day a system stable, secure and satisfying to the individual.

* * *

SOCIALISM is more than simply an economic creed. It is a framework for civilisation. There can be no true civilisation so long as there is inequality and privilege, and there can be no true equality without economic equality, no true freedom without economic freedom.

Nor can there be permanent security, for as Thomas Hill Green wrote many years ago, "A State containing privileged classes or bodies or people thwarted in their development is imperfect, and its imperfection is a danger both to its own members and to those of other States."

On that reckoning we are far from perfection to-day. We shall not begin even to approach it until we have removed want and poverty and unemployment from our midst, until all our people are housed decently, and that fear of insecurity which hangs over so many millions of families to-day is removed.

We have no right to call ourselves civilised as long as the Means Test remains, as long as men and women are living in slums, and children are going hungry and ill-shod. We have no right to regard ourselves as a great nation while we betray so little interest in education, so small a regard for beauty and dignity in the development of our towns, so little consideration for social justice and so much for profits.

We have before us the opportunity to embark upon the high adventure of making a civilisation. We can only achieve it if all those who really believe in civilisation are prepared to fight for it. What have we to do? This is what the Labour Party believes necessary as a beginning.

#219
X-JN 1129
.L32Z9

THE AIR WEAPON

National Government Leader in the House of Commons

"If the conscience of the YOUNG MEN should ever come to feel with regard to this one instrument that it is evil, and should go, the thing will be done ..... But when the next war comes, and European civilisation is wiped out, as it will be by no force more than by that force, then do not let them LAY THE BLAME UPON THE OLD MEN."

MR. BALDWIN,
House of Commons, November 10, 1932.

THE CONSCIENCE OF THE YOUNG MEN

★ ★ ★

THE BOAST OF THE OLD MEN

National Government Leader in the House of Lords

"In 1932 the Disarmament Conference assembled, and almost its earliest discussions were centred around the possibility of the total abolition of air forces or, at least, of the abolition of the artillery of the air, the bombing aeroplane, the weapon which is the distinctive arm of the Air Force and to which it owes its separate existence. . . ."

"I had the utmost difficulty at that time, amid the public outcry, in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane even on the frontiers of the Middle East and India. . . ."

"I felt certain that when the ideals of abolition were examined practically they would be discovered to be inapplicable in the state of the world to-day. WE COULD NOT PUT THE CLOCK BACK . . ."

LORD LONDONDERRY,
House of Lords, May 22, 1935.

VOTE LABOUR

Leaflet No. 48. (10/35/12m.) Published by the Labour Party, Transport House, Smith Square, S.W.1, and printed by the Victoria House Printing Co., Ltd., Tudor Street, E.C.4. Price 4/- per 1,000, carriage paid, from the Labour Publications Department, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

X-JN 1129
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#220

★ GENERAL ELECTION 1935 ★

THE LABOUR PARTY'S

CALL TO POWER

Four years have passed since the "National" Government obtained a swollen majority in the House of Commons on a campaign of fraud, misrepresentation and panic. The Government has now decided to plunge the nation into an electoral struggle in the midst of an international crisis.

The Labour Party deplores this attempt to exploit for partisan ends a situation of grave international anxiety.

It accepts the challenge and enters the Election confident of victory.

Four Barren Years

At the end of four years the country faces the grim spectacle of two million workless, with an army of well over a million and a half people on the Poor Law, and with the deepening tragedy of the distressed areas. Whilst doles of varying kinds have been dispensed on a lavish scale to industry after industry, not a single constructive step has been taken to improve the lot of the people.

The Government has robbed the unemployed of benefit and subjected them to a harsh and cruel household means test.

It withdrew, under a storm of public indignation, its new Unemployment Regulations, and after nine months of reconsideration of this burning question it has ignominiously failed to produce any policy for the proper care of the unemployed.

It has retarded the building of houses to let, curtailed schemes of public works, and discouraged the development of the social services.

It has imposed new burdens on the people through increased taxes on food and other necessaries of life and by deliberately organising restriction of supplies.

The International Situation

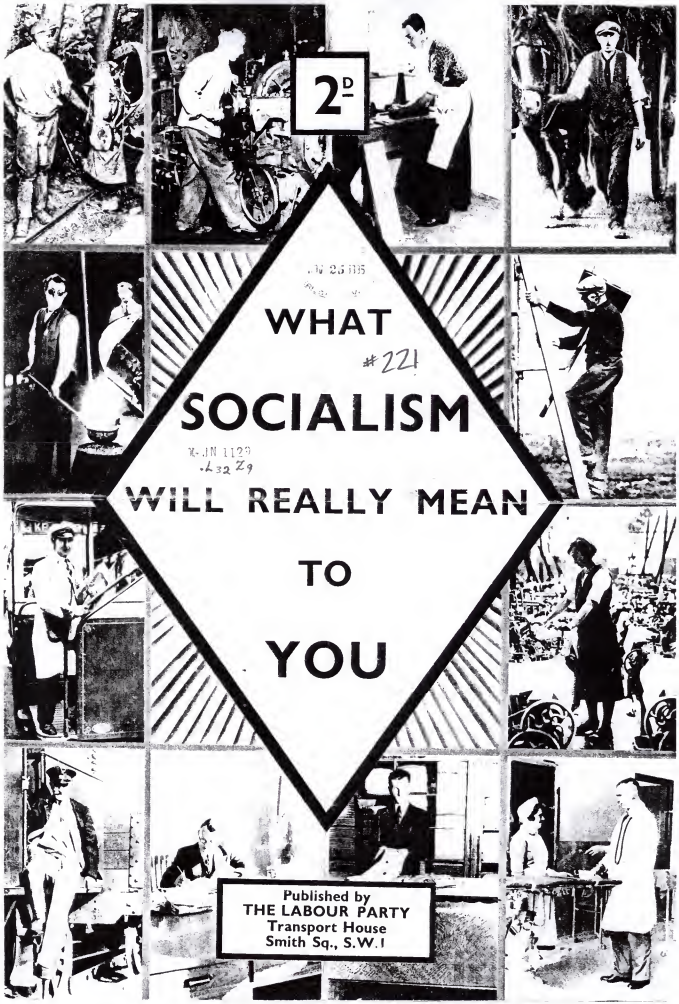
The Government has a terrible responsibility for the present international situation. It did nothing to check the aggression of Japan in the Far East, and thus seriously discredited the League of Nations and undermined the Collective Peace System.

It has wrecked the Disarmament Conference by resisting all the constructive proposals made by other States. As regards air armaments, in particular, Lord Londonderry has boasted that he succeeded, though with great difficulty, in preventing an agreement for the complete abolition of all national air forces.

The Government has helped to restart the arms race, and it failed to make Signor Mussolini understand that, if he broke the peace in Africa, Britain would join with other nations in upholding the authority of the League.

Too late to stop the war, the Government ranged itself at the eleventh hour behind the Covenant at Geneva. Even so, its action has been slow and half-hearted.

P.T.O.



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BLINDED BY TEAR GAS—BETHUNE, APRIL, 1918. [*Reproduced by permission of Imperial War Museum.*

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.L32 Z9

#222

MAY DAY 1936

GRAVE perils face the World's Workers on this May Day. The peace and safety of all Nations are threatened by the continuance of economic disorders and political antagonisms which capitalist Governments have proved themselves incapable of removing. In every country, nearly a score of years after the last great War was fought to end War, the dread of new and bloodier conflicts darkens every working-class home. From the agonising sacrifices and sufferings of the War years of 1914 to 1918, no permanent gains have been made.

Treaties upon which the post-war re-settlement of Europe was founded have been ruthlessly broken. Re-armament has become the declared policy of all the Governments pledged by those Treaties to disarm. The authority of the League of Nations has been shamelessly defied by some of these Governments; and from others it has received only a feeble, intermittent and timid support. Fascist Dictatorship, having destroyed the foundations of Democracy and the institutions of free citizenship among the people it has subjugated, is pursuing a deliberate policy of aggression abroad. A murderous war of conquest is being waged against a helpless and practically unarmed nation, by methods which have outraged the conscience of mankind and with weapons which the law of nations has sought to prohibit. The system of collective security has been con-

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Labour and the Distressed Areas

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A Programme of Immediate Action

*223

Interim Report
of the
Labour Party's Commission of Enquiry into the Distressed Areas

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LABOUR'S POLICY FOR OUR COUNTRYSIDE

#224

By
THE RT. HON. LORD ADDISON

PRICE: ONE PENNY

THE LABOUR PARTY

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#225

Labour's FAIR RENT Policy

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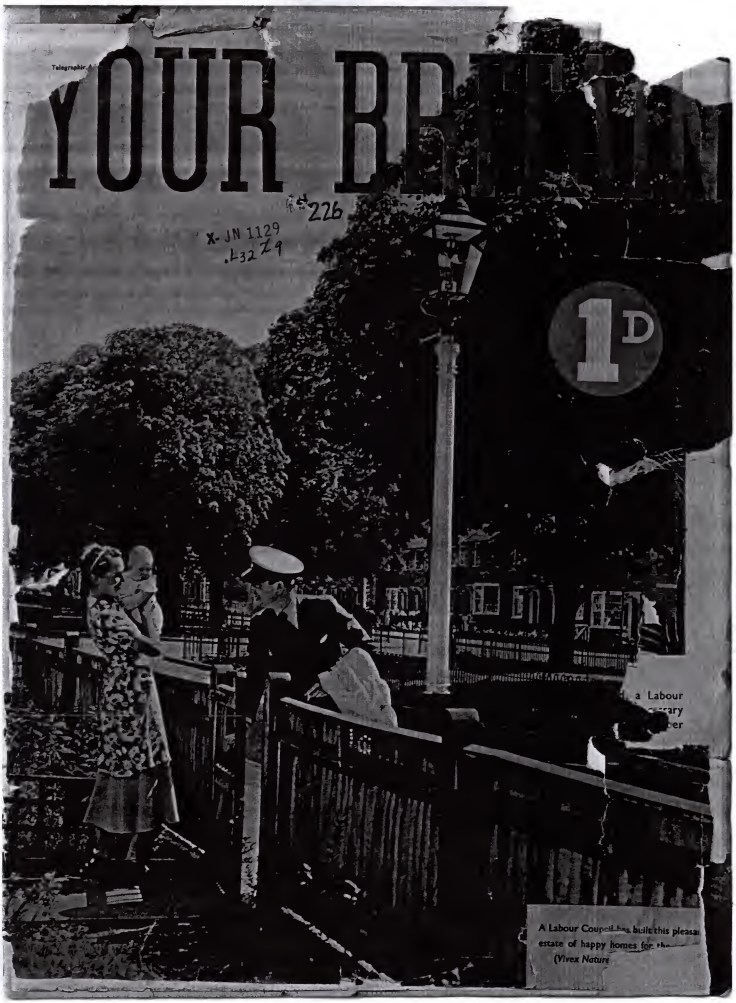
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOUR



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#227

The Only Road to Peace!

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† General Council of Independent Soc. Party

UNTIL the "National" Government is overthrown there seems no prospect of averting a war. Our country, in spite of the democratic aspirations of a large section of its population, is ruled by cold-blooded reactionary Imperialists. Their policy is to conciliate Hitler and Mussolini, and, apparently, to give them a free hand so long as they refrain from attacking the British Empire. Recognition of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia and granting of belligerent rights to Franco may be accomplished facts before these lines are in print. Anti-social and anti-democratic, the majority of our Parliament has acquiesced in the sacrifice of Spain and Austria on the altar of Imperialist expediency, and will not be likely to oppose the absorption of Czecho-Slovakia, an attempt to overthrow the Soviet Republic, or abandonment of China to Japan so long as Hong Kong and Canton are left intact in British hands.

THE two great European "democracies" are governed by men with a similar outlook to those whose policy led to the last World War. Britain and France settled the Peace Terms on what were essentially predatory and Imperialist lines, and by so doing they created and have maintained the conditions which have hatched Mussolini and Hitler. Both France and Britain squandered men

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Labour's Case: by PHILIP NOEL-BAKER, M.P.

FRANCO BOMBS BRITISH SEAMEN:

Labour Condemns Chamberlain's Surrender

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#229

Government's AIR MUDDLE EXPOSED

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by Hugh Dalton, M.P.

X-JN 1129
.L32 Z9

Labour party X-JN 1129 .L32 Z9 #231

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS...

WHAT—

Gt. Brit. — Foreign relations — Germany

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Mr. Anthony Eden, M.P.
Mr. Richard Law, M.P.
Mr. L. S. Amery, M.P.
Viscount Cranborne, M.P.
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Capt. Sir Derrick Gunston, M.P.
Hon. Harold Nicolson, M.P.
The Archbishop of Canterbury

—SAID ON THE CRISIS

Labour party
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.L32 Z9
#232

HITLER'S THREAT to Czech Democracy

THE FACTS

Germany - For. rel. - Russia.

LABOUR 1P PARTY

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Socialist Policy for 1938

[Resolutions adopted by the Annual Conference of the I.L.P., Manchester, April 16th to 18th, 1938]

ONE PENNY

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY
35 St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4

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LABOUR'S CLAIM TO GOVERNMENT

Gt. Brit. - Pol. & govt.

THE LABOUR PARTY ONE PENNY

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LABOUR AND THE POPULAR FRONT

① Labor party (Gt. Brit.)

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Labour party.

12,000 WORDS OF HISTORY!

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Czechoslovakia.

THE FULL FACTS OF THE CZECH CRISIS

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Telephones: VICTORIA 8916, 8917, 8918, 8919

THE LABOUR PARTY #237

TRANSPORT HOUSE (South Block), SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Secretary:
J. S. MIDDLETON

July, 1938.

To Constituency Parties, Local Parties,
Women's Sections, Leagues of Youth, etc.

Dear Secretary,

I write to draw your attention to two new and important pamphlets issued by the Party.

"Hitler's Threat to Czech Democracy"

This is a concise and lucid account of the most vital problem of foreign policy today. The recent crisis in Czechoslovakia, which is liable to recur at any moment, and the gravity of the present situation in Central Europe, have brought home to all intelligent people the threat to Democracy that would be involved in an attack on the courageous Czechoslovak nation.

Public discussion of the crisis revealed a widespread misunderstanding of the true nature of the Sudeten German problem and its causes. This new pamphlet clears up all confusion on this point. In addition to an objective statement of the alleged Sudeten German grievances and a summary of the Czechoslovak Government's constructive proposals for the solution of the minority problem, the pamphlet describes the Fascist organisation of the Henlein Party and the Henlein methods of terrorism and shows that this organisation is the instrument of Nazi German aggression.

Illustrating as it does the urgent necessity for the Labour Party's foreign policy of Collective Security, the problem of Czechoslovakia should be clearly understood by all to whom Labour propaganda is addressed. I feel sure therefore that you will see the importance of securing the widest possible circulation for this publication.

The Party is also issuing in pamphlet form Mr. Noel-Baker's speech in the House of Commons on the bombing of British ships by the Spanish insurgents, under the title

"Franco Bombs British Seamen"

The ineptitude and pusillanimity of the Prime Minister's replies to questions on this subject and his obvious determination to preserve the Anglo-Italian agreement at whatever cost has aroused such widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country that the moment is ripe for intensive propaganda on the Government's handling of foreign affairs. Mr. Noel-Baker describes the extraordinary toll of damage which General Franco has been permitted to levy on British ships and makes a brilliant exposure of the encouragement to piracy which the Government's weakness provides.

The pamphlet will be of the utmost value to all Labour speakers and should be in the hands of all Party members and as many of the general public as can be reached. I trust that you will find it possible to order a substantial supply.

Yours very sincerely,

Labour party #238

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Pamphlet collection

PENSIONS AND YOU

Old age pensions

PRICE 1d.

THE LABOUR PARTY

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LABOUR'S PEACE AIMS

by

Rt. Hon. C. R. ATTLEE, M.P.
(Leader of the Labour Party)

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Published by
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#240

ARTHUR GREENWOOD

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SPEAKS FOR LABOUR

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THE LABOUR PARTY
Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1

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WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR?

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by The Rt. Hon.
HERBERT MORRISON, M.P.

D Europe
I Labour party.

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subject

A TRADE UNIONIST'S VIEW OF POLITICS

X-JN 1129
.L33 Z9

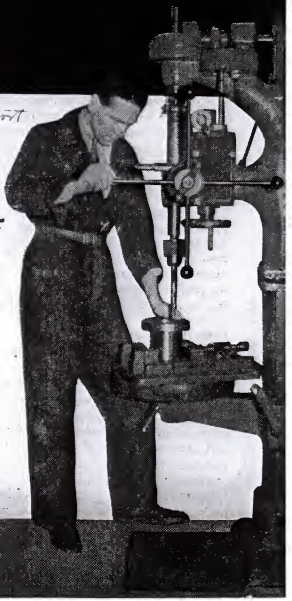
Labour party. England - Pol. & govt.

Why Did We Start the Labour Party?

#242

What Has it Done for Us?

Why Should We Join it To-day?



ONE PENNY

YOU CAN GIVE YOUR CHILDREN THE CHANCE THEY DESERVE

X-JN 1129.L32 Z9
#243

"He shan't go through what I did!" How many fathers—mothers, have spoken these words? You, too, perhaps. But for hundreds of thousands of children there is only under-feeding, ill-health, the shadow of poverty, to mark their passage through life. The things that make life beautiful and secure should be their RIGHT—not just the dreams of thinking men. There *is* a way to give your child—all children—the happiness that is their due. Labour and Co-operation have found it, and will not rest until it is put into action. The power to speed it on its way to fulfilment is in your hands.

Labour and Co-operation's Plan covers all the stages of life. Here it is:—

IN INFANCY. A baby needs constant care and attention. Labour and Co-operation will provide well-equipped Child Welfare Clinics—each one a haven of advice and expert medical attention for both mother and child.

AS TODDLERS. Children are at present almost entirely unprotected by the nation's health services. This inadequate provision is reflected in the fact that eighty per cent. of school children have physical defects. Labour and Co-operation will build clinics and nursery schools for every one.

AS SCHOLARS. Instead of only one in ten children having opportunities for higher education, every child in Britain will have his chance. The school-leaving age will be extended to sixteen, with adequate maintenance provision to relieve the burden on parents.

ON LEAVING SCHOOL. Labour and Co-operation will end the system whereby a child is flung into the nearest job, devoid of opportunity and hope. Our Youth Charter will protect children — give them minimum wage rates, a forty-hour week, paid holidays and health insurance benefits.

AS WORKERS. Your children will be assured of security in employment, free from the dread that next week's pay packet may be the last, assured of decent wages and a chance of doing the job for which they are best fitted.

AS PARENTS. The children are the PARENTS OF THE FUTURE. Let us build them healthy homes to live in, gardens where *their* children can play. Safeguard them from the tribulations you have had to face. They deserve happiness—the power to give it to them lies entirely in your hands.

★ Thus Labour and Co-operation's policy seeks to safeguard the interests of your children and of the nation. Through all the vital years, Labour and Co-operation will protect them and give them the chance to become men and women of whom you can be really proud.

PLAN NOW FOR YOUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE

when the time comes

VOTE LABOUR

Labour Party and Co-operative Party Joint Campaign. Leaflet No. 5 (3.39.1,000); price 3s. 6d. per 1,000 carriage paid from the Labour Publications Dept., Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1. Printed by Odhams (Watford) Ltd., Watford, T.U. all Departments.

YOU CAN GIVE YOUR CHILDREN THE CHANCE THEY DESERVE

"He shan't go through what I did!" these words? You, too, perhaps. But for hundreds of thousands of children there is only under-feeding, ill-health, the shadow of poverty, to mark their passage through life. The things that make life beautiful and secure should be their RIGHT—not just the dreams of thinking men. There *is* a way to give your child—all children—the happiness that is their due. Labour and Co-operation have found it, and will not rest until it is put into action. The power to speed it on its way to fulfilment is in your hands.

How many fathers—mothers, have spoken

Labour and Co-operation's Plan covers all the stages of life. Here it is :—

IN INFANCY. A baby needs constant care and attention. Labour and Co-operation will provide well-equipped Child Welfare Clinics—each one a haven of advice and expert medical attention for both mother and child.

AS TODDLERS. Children are at present almost entirely unprotected by the nation's health services. This inadequate provision is reflected in the fact that eighty per cent. of school children have physical defects. Labour and Co-operation will build clinics and nursery schools for every one.

AS SCHOLARS. Instead of only one in ten children having opportunities for higher education, every child in Britain will have his chance. The school-leaving age will be extended to sixteen, with adequate maintenance provision to relieve the burden on parents.

ON LEAVING SCHOOL. Labour and Co-operation will end the system whereby a child is flung into the nearest job, devoid of opportunity and hope. Our Youth Charter will protect children — give them minimum wage rates, a forty-hour week, paid holidays and health insurance benefits.

AS WORKERS. Your children will be assured of security in employment, free from the dread that next week's pay packet may be the last, assured of decent wages and a chance of doing the job for which they are best fitted.

AS PARENTS. The children are the PARENTS OF THE FUTURE. Let us build them healthy homes to live in, gardens where *their* children can play. Safeguard them from the tribulations you have had to face. They deserve happiness—the power to give it to them lies entirely in your hands.

★ Thus Labour and Co-operation's policy seeks to safeguard the interests of your children and of the nation. Through all the vital years, Labour and Co-operation will protect them and give them the chance to become men and women of whom you can be really proud.

PLAN NOW FOR YOUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE

when the time comes

VOTE LABOUR

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#244

X-JN 1129
.L32 Z9

#245

LABOUR WINS BETTER PAY FOR YOUNG SOLDIERS

The "National" Government proposed to pay the young men called up under the Conscription Bill a shilling a day, which is half the pay of a Regular soldier.

The Labour Party immediately protested vigorously against this unfair discrimination, and demanded two shillings a day.

The Government at first resisted this demand, and even intended that there should be no discussion in Parliament of the rate of pay until the Conscription Bill was passed!

Labour insisted that this vital matter must be discussed before the Third Reading of the Bill, and the Government was compelled to give a day for discussion.

ON THE DAY BEFORE THIS DISCUSSION TOOK PLACE THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT THE RATE OF PAY WOULD BE EIGHTEENPENCE A DAY.

THE LABOUR PARTY WAS ENTIRELY RESPONSIBLE FOR SECURING THIS EXTRA SIXPENCE A DAY.

In the debate in Parliament on May 17 the Labour Party repeated its demand for two shillings a day.

Labour also demanded that the dependants of the young men called up should be properly provided for.

THE GOVERNMENT REFUSED THE DEMAND FOR TWO SHILLINGS AND GAVE UNSATISFACTORY REPLIES TO THE DEMAND FOR THE PROTECTION OF DEPENDANTS.

LABOUR STANDS FOR A FAIR DEAL FOR SOLDIERS

X-JN 1129
.L32 Z9

#246

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LABOUR STANDS FOR A FAIR DEAL FOR SOLDIERS

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#247

THE GOVERNMENT HAS BROKEN ITS PLEDGE TO THE PEOPLE . . .

Time and again the "National" Government has pledged its word not to introduce Conscription in Peace time. Here are the pledges:—

17th February, 1938.—The Prime Minister replied to Mr. Mander's question in the House of Commons as to whether he stood by Mr. Baldwin's pledge not to introduce Conscription in Peace time, "Yes, Sir."

March 8th, 1938.—The Prime Minister repeated this assurance in reply to a question by Mr. Kennedy, repeated it again on March 10, March 16, June 1, in reply to other Members.

March 29th, 1939.—The Prime Minister, in reply to Mr. Greenwood, reaffirmed the Government's pledge not to introduce Conscription in Peace time.

One Month Later.—April 26th.—The Prime Minister announced that the Cabinet had decided to introduce Conscription, despite all their pledges. He said he had "changed his mind."

Although, as shown on the other side of this leaflet, the people have loyally answered the Government's appeal for 210,000 men . . . the Government has broken its word to the people

BUT KEPT ITS WORD TO THE RICH

Asked if, having introduced Conscription of Life, the Government would now introduce Conscription of Wealth, the Prime Minister replied that "Conscription of Wealth is already in force."

This is a mockery. Taxes on food amount to £40,000,000 a year alone—the people pay these; yet in the Budget the tax on your sugar and tobacco was increased by nearly £10,000,000. Income tax was not raised; and the additions to Sur-Tax and Death Duties—the method of taxing the rich—were only increased by £7,000,000.

The Government's going to borrow £400,000,000 next year from the financiers. You'll be taxed to pay the interest on that! Why not tax large incomes and fortunes more? The Government has to pay more interest on each Defence Loan it raises from the rich. Armament firms are making large profits out of the needs of the nation. The Government refuses to set up a Ministry of Supply to make industrialists serve the Government first, although we're short of equipment.

It isn't the man in the street that needs to be conscripted, but the wealth of the rich, that the man in the street has to defend. Join the Labour Party; for

LABOUR STANDS FOR WEALTH CONSCRIPTION

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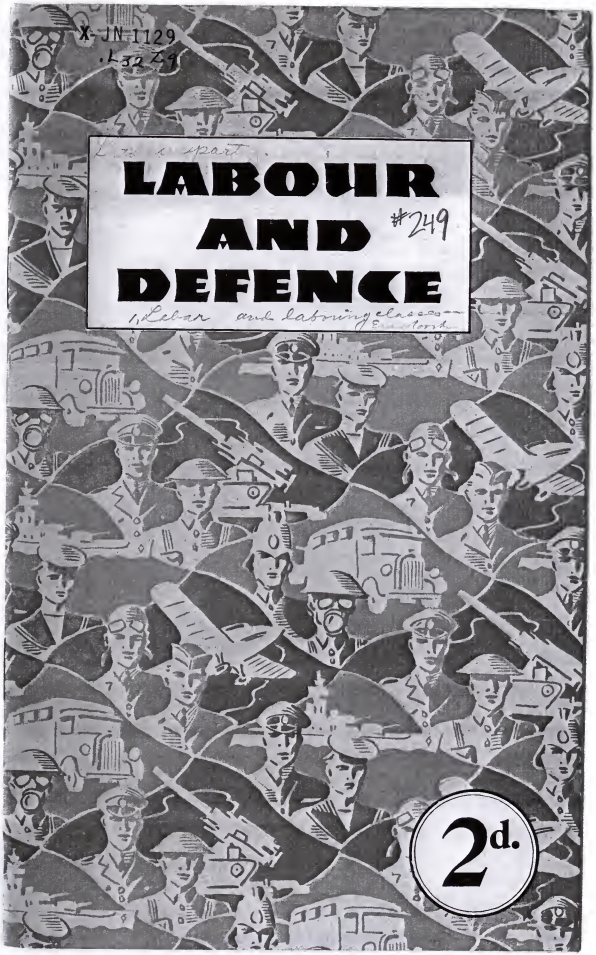
LABOUR AND DEFENCE

#249



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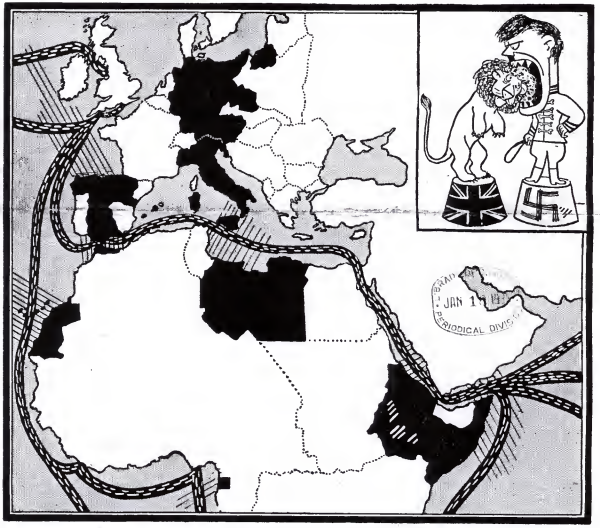
We CAN Have Peace and Strength

BUT NOT WITH A GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS NEGLECTED OUR DEFENCES AND BROUGHT US TO THE BRINK OF WAR



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THIS MAP speaks for itself. It shows how Britain's trade routes, the arteries along which most of our food is brought to us, are threatened by Germany and Italy. The black patches, including Franco Spain and its colonies, are territories under the control of Hitler and Mussolini. Our route through the Mediterranean to India, Australia and New Zealand is threatened at three points; aeroplanes and submarines from Franco Spain can attack our North Atlantic shipping; and the Western route to South Africa is in danger from the Canary Islands and Franco's colony, Rio de Oro. This is the state of danger to which seven years of "National" Government has brought us.

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WHAT YOU CAN DO .....

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LABOUR'S POLICY

The proposals of Irish Labour for a planned economy to end unemployment, to develop agriculture, to promote national prosperity, and to safeguard the interests of the community.

"Nations live on the real wealth they are able to produce; there is nothing else on which they can live."

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SHOPPING BASKET IN WAR TIME

Higher Prices Reduce Workers' Purchasing Power

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Up till now the sacrifices of the workers have undoubtedly helped to increase the wealth of the war profiteers. We have tried in this pamphlet to expose some of the abuses which must be ended, if the rich are not to become still richer through the sufferings of war.

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BY

A. H. UNWIN
(LATE NIGERIAN FOREST SERVICE)

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(Lord Privy Seal)

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(Secretary for Scotland)

HUGH DALTON
(Economic Warfare)

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A Record of Social Legislation in War Time

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FORGING THE WEAPON

The Struggle of the Labour Monthly 1921-1941

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Published by
LABOUR MONTHLY
134, BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N.3

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#261

WEST LONDON INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION

Ravenscourt Park, Hammersmith, W.
Sunday, May 3, 1942 - - - 2.30 p.m.

DEMONSTRATE YOUR SOLIDARITY WITH THE WORKERS OF EUROPE

SPEAKERS from France, Belgium, Germany, Norway, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and possibly Yugoslavia, Greece, Russia and China; with English speakers from local parties, including Dr. EDITH SUMMERSKILL, M.P., and SAM VIANT, M.P.

Your reception of the Continental Comrades and their speeches will be rebroadcast to Europe.

See to it that the workers of Europe are heartened by your cheers.

Details and Programmes (1d. each)

from GORDON BAMFORD, HAMMERSMITH BOROUGH LABOUR PARTY, 78 Brook Green, W.6. (Riverside 5932).

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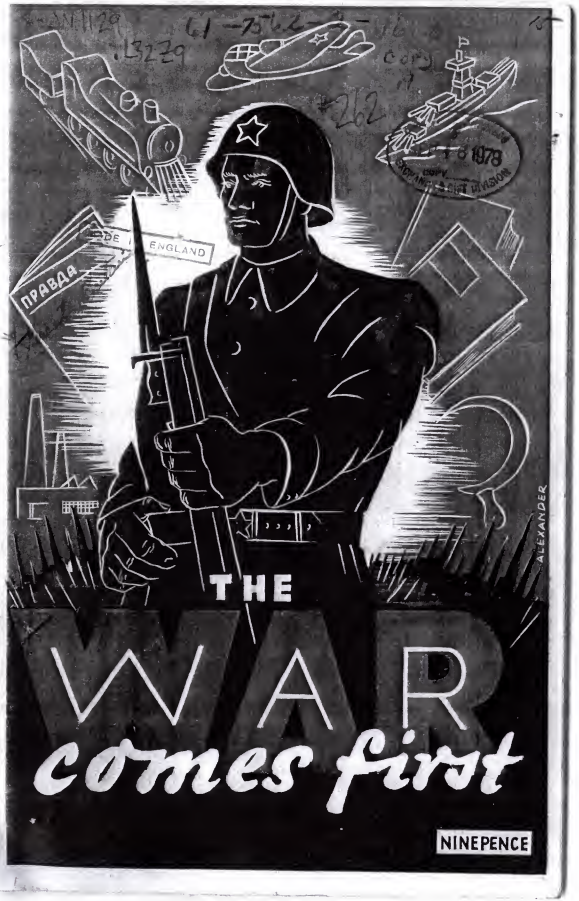
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TRANSPORT HOUSE, SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

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TRADES UNION CONGRESS
Secretary: RT. HON. SIR WALTER CITRINE, K.B.E.

THE CO-OPERATIVE UNION
Secretary: R. A. PALMER

#263

PURCHASE TAX

1. The National Council of Labour has considered the incidence of the Purchase Tax in the light of the changed circumstances since it was introduced.

2. The views of the Council are stated herein, and it is hoped that the forthcoming Budget will afford the opportunity of securing changes in the direction suggested.

3. There are two rates of duty in operation. A tax of 33⅓ per cent. is levied on the wholesale value of articles deemed to be luxuries or the replacement of which might be postponed in war circumstances. **Included in these, however, are the various materials, termed textile piece goods, needed by the working people for the making up of garments in the home, the prices of which, as compared with pre-war, are unduly oppressive.** The fact that such materials are included in the Clothing Coupon Scheme clearly indicates that they are necessities. In addition, household and bed linen; blankets; mattresses; headgear; neckties; handkerchiefs; haberdashery; oil baize; oilcloth; linoleum and furniture are subject to this high rate of tax.

4. The lower rate of 16⅔ per cent. is levied on the wholesale value of necessities such as clothing and footwear (other than children's), domestic crockery and hollow-ware.

5. The artificial increase in prices due to the Purchase Tax is very unfair in limiting the purchases of poorer people, as compared with those with larger incomes. The tax is no longer necessary as a means of reducing consumption which can be better achieved by limiting supplies instead of raising prices.

6. The burden of the Tax falls particularly heavily on air raid victims who have to replace essential household furnishings and furniture; and also upon young persons marrying.

7. The Tax is an inequitable method of meeting financial problems that should be solved by direct taxation according to income. The wastage of labour in the administration and collection of the Tax is equal to the personnel of a number of munition factories.

CHANGES SINCE OCTOBER, 1940

Since the introduction of the Tax the Government has taken the following steps to raise revenue and reduce consumption, which were stated to be the objects of the Tax :—

(*a*) The limit for exemption from Income Tax has been lowered to £110 per annum and 2,000,000 more persons at the lower end of the social scale are now liable to direct taxation.

(*b*) The changes in the Income Tax involve the principle of compulsory saving and thus reduces consumption.

(*c*) The Board of Trade has drastically applied the Limitation of Supplies Orders so that such goods are in short supply.

(*d*) The Concentration of Industries has already curtailed and will further reduce production, and especially luxury production.

(*e*) The Chancellor of the Exchequer has foreshadowed further subsidies to assist in stabilising the Cost of Living Index figure.

(*f*) The rationing of clothing and footwear, with the further reduction announced, curtails the consumption of goods liable to Purchase Tax.

PURCHASE TAX *v.* WAR EFFORT

The effects of the Purchase Tax are detrimental to the War effort for the following reasons :—

(1) It has raised the Cost of Living, and the Tax collected for the past year has practically cancelled out the food subsidies.

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Labour Party #265

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The Labour Party's Post-war Policy

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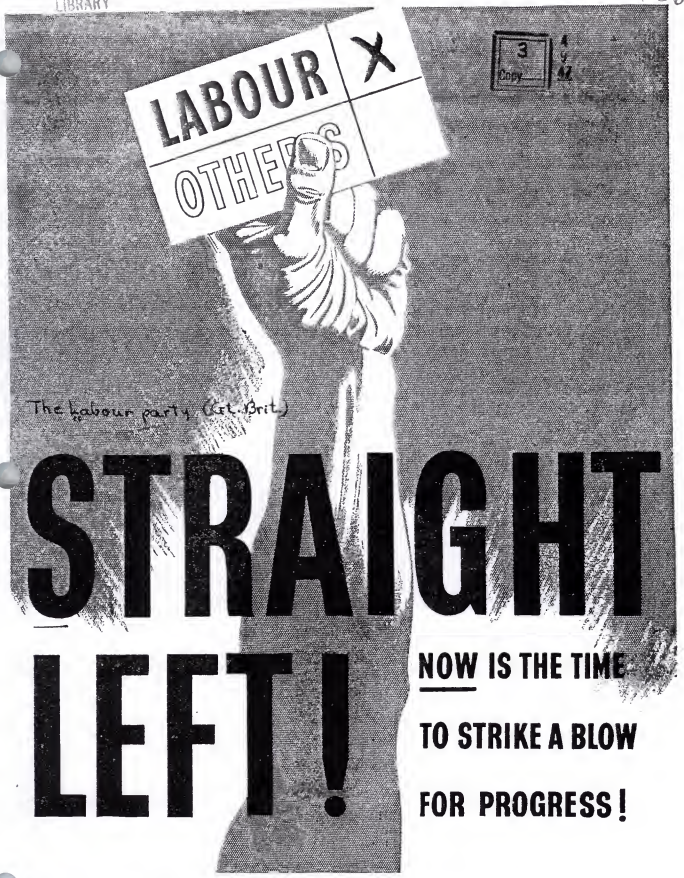

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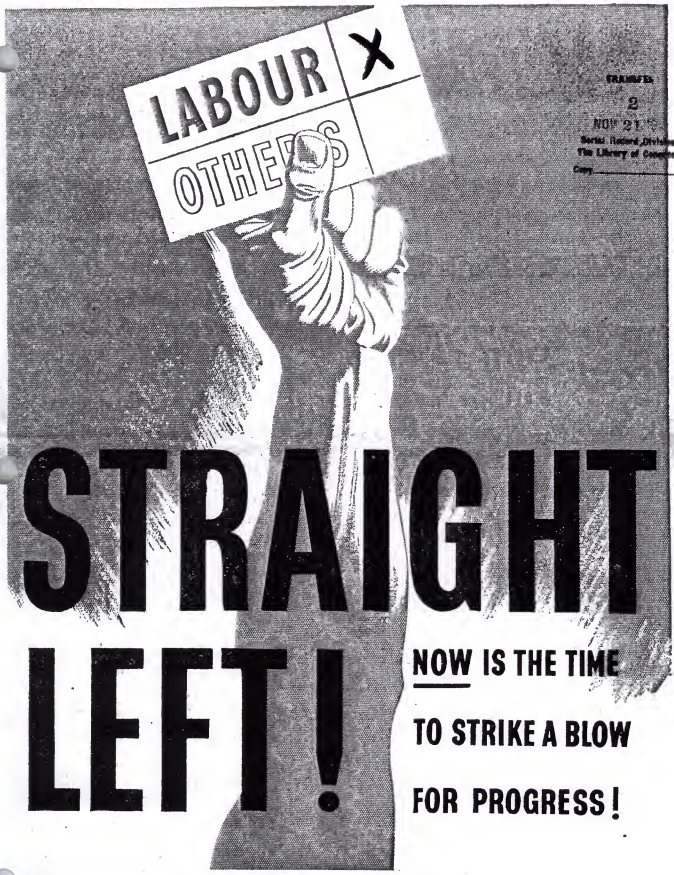

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FOR PROGRESS!

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THE INTERNATIONAL POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

Report by the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party to be presented to the Annual Conference to be held in London from May 29th to June 2nd, 1944.

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FULL EMPLOYMENT AND FINANCIAL POLICY

Report by the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party to be presented to the Annual Conference to be held in London from May 29th to June 2nd, 1944.

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THE LABOUR PARTY

TRANSPORT HOUSE, SMITH SQUARE, WESTMINSTER, S.W.1

MAR 2nd 1945

February, 1945.

DEAR COLLEAGUE,

In this year of cardinal importance to the Labour Movement it will be necessary for the decks to be cleared for intensive action.

A General Election is virtually certain before 1945 has run its course. There will be Municipal contests. None of the latter has been held since the war began, now nearly six years ago.

But in the Parliamentary field the gap is even more remarkable. It was on November 14, 1935, that we last went to the polls in a General Election. Since that time, the war and the Party truce have come between us and the exercise of our franchise.

The time draws near when again we will be able to cast our votes. Hundreds of thousands will come on to the Electoral Register who have never voted before.

It is a striking thought that many who will help to decide the political fate of the nation at the next General Election were only eleven years old when the last election was fought. It was a fight in which the Tories got an overwhelming majority.

The children of the men and women who voted then have grown up in a world of strife and turmoil. They have seen all too patently the evidences of the sort of state into which the great phalanx of Tory membership of the Commons

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MORGAN PHILLIPS tells you

about the LABOUR PARTY
the Party with a
FUTURE

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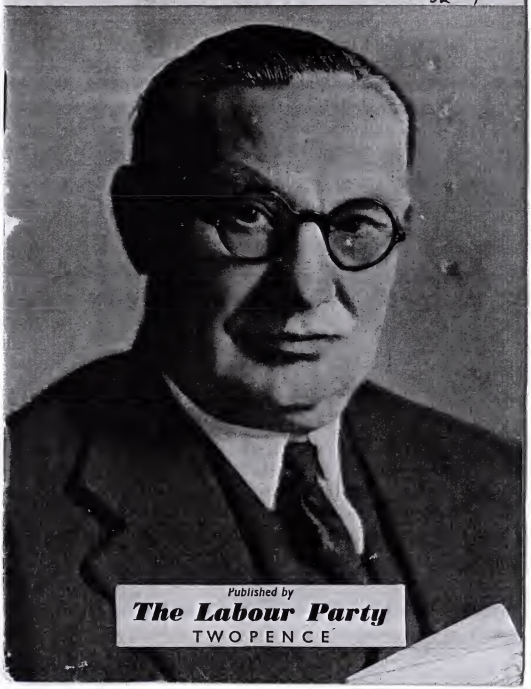
Ernest Bevin's Work in Wartime 1940 - 1945



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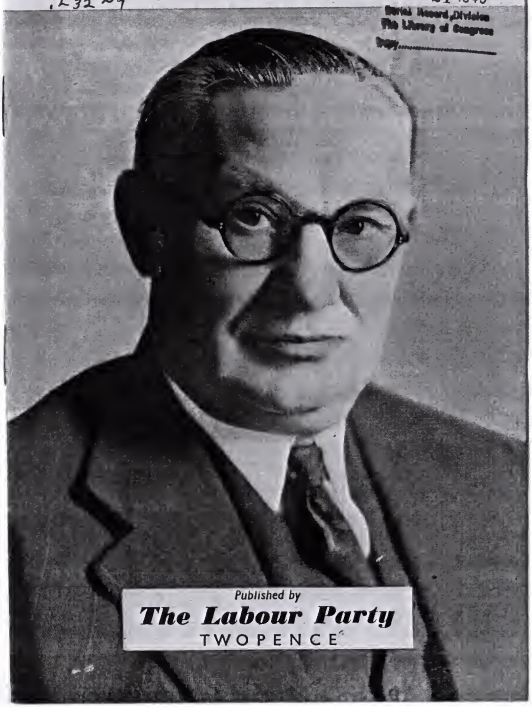

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By
R. PALME DUTT & IVOR MONTAGU
Published by
LABOUR MONTHLY, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3
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INDUSTRY IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATION

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British industry must give the nation the best that human knowledge and skill can provide. The private owners of many of our industries have failed to do this.

Britain cannot be a first-class industrial country on second-class industrial organisation, and out-of-date plant and machines.

The British worker is entitled to the best machines in the world and the best industrial organisation.

Industry must rise to new heights of efficiency and expansion. Labour, therefore, proposes :—

(1) **Public Ownership and Control of the Coal and Power Industries.**

(2) **Public Ownership and Control of Inland Transport.**

(3) **Public Ownership and Control of the Iron and Steel Industry.**

(4) **Public Supervision of Monopolies and Cartels, to prevent excessive prices and restrictive practices.**

(5) **Power both for the Central Government and for Local Authorities to buy without delay any land, in town or country, required for any public purpose.**

(6) **State action to get our Export Trade on its feet on condition that industry is efficient and go-ahead.**

(7) **Priorities in the use of raw materials for vital industries, control of the prices of food and other essentials, suitable controls to ensure that homes for the people come before mansions, and necessities for all before luxuries for the few.**

(8) **Better organisation of Government Departments and the Civil Service to serve the economic purpose of Government, which must be to spur industry forward and not to choke it with red tape.**

A LABOUR GOVERNMENT
WILL WORK WITH A WILL FOR JOBS FOR ALL
A GOOD AND SECURE LIVING FOR THE BRITISH PEOPLE

BE A GOOD DEMOCRAT AND VOTE

BE A WISE DEMOCRAT AND VOTE LABOUR

SEE OVER

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#281

THE GUILTY PARTY

The Tories are wriggling to evade the blame for the parlous state of our national defences before the war.

They have guilty consciences.

Their negligence left the country without adequate arms and without strong allies.

From 1931 until after the outbreak of the Second World War the Tories were in power without a break.

Hitler did not become master of Germany until 1933.

Year after year the Tories sought to placate Hitler and Mussolini. They excluded Churchill from office in order not to offend or irritate Hitler.

They preferred to appease the dictators—at the expense of Abyssinia, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Spain—and Britain.

It was a black period of Britain's history—the era of appeasement.

Neglect without Parallel

Read what Mr. Churchill said (October 5th, 1938):

"When I think of the fair hopes of a long peace which still lay before Europe at the beginning of 1933 when Hitler first obtained power, and of all the opportunities of arresting the growth of the Nazi power which have been thrown away, when I think of the immense combinations and resources which have been neglected or squandered, **I cannot believe that a parallel exists in the whole course of history.**"

WHO WAS TO BLAME?

"So far as this country is concerned," Mr. Churchill continued, "the responsibility must rest with those who have the undisputed control of our political affairs."

The Government was a Tory Government, and their supporters in the House of Commons totalled 432 out of 615 members.

Mr. Churchill's indictment went on—

"They neither prevented Germany from rearming, nor did they rearm ourselves in time. They quarrelled with Italy without saving Ethiopia. They exploited and discredited the vast institution of the League of Nations and they neglected to make alliances and combinations which might have repaired previous errors, and thus **they left us in the hour of trial without adequate national defence or effective international security.**"

To-day the Tory Party is seeking to get a new lease of power by sheltering behind the prestige of the man who was distrusted and rejected by them before the war.

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#282

LABOUR WILL

continue the County Executive Committees. (These will be appointed by the Minister and a number of the nominees will be chosen from names sent in by the National Farmers' Union and the Trade Unions.)

The Committees will assist Farmers by
Advice, Demonstrations, Education and Persuasion.

They will

Help organize the best use of machinery and the most economical use of fertilizers.

Accelerate Water Supplies.

Encourage Electrification of the Countryside.

Inspire Housing Authorities to meet the needs of the Farming Population.

And the new National Advisory Service will continue to provide technical assistance and guidance.

Labour's Policy, which has proved so successful in wartime, means

Agricultural Stability

★ ***Reasonable Returns to Farmers*** ★

Decent Wages for Farm Workers

The Conservatives have had their chance. Under their administration British agriculture sank to its lowest level.

There is no sadder sight than a derelict farm.

Don't be misled now by pleasant Tory phrases!

Fine Words are no substitute for Sound Policy.

Vote Labour
and
KEEP THE COUNTRYSIDE PROSPEROUS

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#283

Jobs for all!

★

AND HOW TO GET THEM

TWICE during the last thirty years there have been periods when there were Jobs for All. Nobody needed to be out of work.

Both of these periods were in time of War—1914-18 and 1939-45.

Why is it that War, so evil a thing, can give useful work to all of our people, while Peace cannot?

An important reason is that in time of War the country cannot survive unless weapons and munitions are provided in huge quantities. Because the nation's need is plainly a matter of life or death, our Government sees that the need is supplied. Industry goes to it. The wheels turn. Everybody has a job.

How different it was in time of Peace! In order to live properly the people needed many things. But it was not considered a life and death matter to the country that they should get them all. Generally speaking, if they had the money they got those things that private industry could supply at a profit. The rest of the needs, that nobody thought profitable to supply, were often neglected. And the Government did not step in. Things we all wanted we did not get. Men and women were kept idle because it paid nobody to set them to work.

The Labour Party believes that this was all wrong. If goods are badly needed, *that* is a sufficient reason why they should be made, in Peace as well as in War. The chances of profit should no longer decide.

Also the Labour Party believes that the Government, acting for us all, should see that the industry, trade and business of the nation should be so conducted that work shall be constant and unemployment avoided. The experts say that this can be done. Labour says that it *must* be done. But it *cannot* be done if private industry is to be left to pursue profits regardless of the people's interests and needs—which is, in effect, the policy of the Tory Party.

Here are the Labour Party's reasonable proposals for ensuring Jobs for All

1 **The nation's resources—land, materials and labour—must be fully used in the most efficient way to increase production to provide adequate incomes for all the people so that they may be able to buy what is produced. Trade slumps come largely because people have not enough money to buy the things that could be produced. And so the things are not produced at all, and lots of people have no wages or salaries.**

★ ★ ★

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Exchange
Labour Party

BRITAIN *Gets Under Way*

#284

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S GREAT PLANS FOR BRITAIN'S FUTURE BEGIN TO TAKE SHAPE

HOUSES FOR THE PEOPLE

When the Labour Government took over, only 731 houses had been tendered for. Only four months later the number of houses under contract in England and Wales alone exceeded 20,000, and the number is increasing daily. In December temporary houses were going up at the rate of 500 a week—eight times the rate of pre-Labour Government days. The Government is now the nation's biggest builder, and will see the job through for the people.

MOBILISING INDUSTRY

Labour is mobilising Britain's Industry to serve Britain's people. As a first step, the private Bank of England—key to financial policy—is being transferred to public ownership. And by New Year's Eve, 1945, nearly four million people will have been fitted into new occupations within six months.

FAIR DO'S FOR ALL

In the post-war reconstruction of Britain there must be no quick profits for the few at the expense of Britain's people. The Supplies and Services Bill is designed to keep prices down and make your shopping days easier. Labour's first budget is aimed at giving relief to all taxpayers, so that everyone will feel the benefit. Two million wage-earners are to be relieved of income tax altogether.

A LASTING WORLD PEACE

The Labour Government leads the drive for lasting peace. In the Atomic Bomb Charter and the bold proposal for an elected world assembly, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary are taking the initiative in the building of real world security.

LABOUR *Hoists The Anchor*

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#285

LABOUR | X

Cross Here for a Better Britain

- REAL PEACE
- A GOOD HOME
- A GOOD JOB
- GOOD WAGES
- A CHANCE FOR THE CHILDREN

WE have started to cross over from War to Peace. It won't be an easy crossing, but the main thing is to arrive at the right place. What you have always wanted is : Real Peace; a Good Home; a Good Job; Good Wages; and a Good Chance for the Children. A Labour Government would work to give you these things.

You didn't get them between 1918 and 1939 when the Tory Party had a majority in the House of Commons for 18 years.

Remember that, when the Tories try to wriggle out of their responsibility for the mass unemployment, the derelict areas, the poverty and social misery of those years.

Remember that, when the Tories tell you that your prosperity depends on private profit-making enterprise.

Remember that, when the Tories ask you to vote against Public Enterprise and Public Controls which will put the keys of economic power and prosperity into the hands of the people.

And Remember also, that political power for the Tories means economic power for Big Business.

p.t.o.

#286

BRITAIN OUT OF CONTROL

To Win the War the Nation had to control nearly all the things that keep us alive—Food, Production, Transport, Rents, Furniture Prices, Manpower—and many others.

Why?

To Strengthen the War Effort

To see that everyone had their fair share

To prevent prices rocketing and inflation making your money worthless.

Freedom for whom?

Labour's opponents say: "It's the end of the war in Europe. Make it the end of controls. Back to freedom!"

What they mean is:

"Back to freedom for the profiteers and racketeers. Back to the good old days of freedom to plunder the people."

They want to end Public Controls and restore Big Business Control.

THE TORIES WILL USE POLITICAL POWER TO KEEP THE NATION UNDER THE ECONOMIC POWER OF BIG BUSINESS & VESTED INTEREST

THE ONE CONTROL THEY BELIEVE IN IS CAPITALISTIC CONTROL!

So don't be fooled by the Tory charge that Labour wants public controls for the sake of controls

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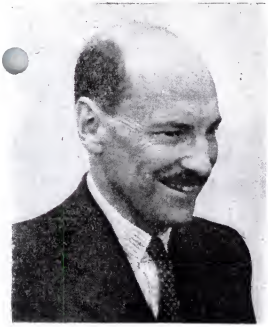
#287



"GIVE LABOUR POWER"

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★

AN APPEAL to the PEOPLE

by

The Rt. Hon. C. R. ATTLEE

(Leader of the Labour Party)

FOR TEN YEARS I have been the Leader of the Labour Party, and for five years I have been the colleague of the Prime Minister in the Government under whose direction the nation won a great victory in Europe for democracy against tyranny.

During the whole of the time my position as the responsible spokesman of the Labour Party and my devotion to democratic principles have not been challenged by my political friends or by the Prime Minister, or by other Government colleagues. I can afford, therefore, to ignore the eleventh hour insinuations and misrepresentations to which, to my surprise and regret, even the Prime Minister has lent his support.

In my broadcast speech I endeavoured to place fairly before the people of this country the real issues on which they have to pass their verdict. I appeal to you now to avoid the side issues and personalities which are put forward only to confuse your minds.

No one who takes the trouble to think, will believe that the Labour Party, which comprises in its ranks millions of people with small savings, would do anything to put them in danger. No one really believes that the Labour Party, which is the most democratic in its structure of all the political parties, and throughout its history has steadfastly supported the cause of democracy all over the world, could ever betray the living principle of its being. No one will ever believe that the Labour Party, which owes its origin to the Trade Union Movement, would, as the Prime Minister has suggested, deprive trade unionists of their rights.

When I heard of the Prime Minister's fantastic accusations against the Labour Party, which put him into power and for five years supported him during the war, I was inclined to echo his question, "What kind of people does he think you are?" if he expects you to take this kind of talk seriously. For this Election should be taken seriously. You

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Why the Tories WON'T Build the Houses—and Why Labour WILL

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LEARN FROM THE PAST

In 1918, the Government promised "Homes for Heroes" for our Servicemen. They promised to build 500,000 houses in three years. Well, in 1919 they built 700 houses.

★ IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE WHEATLEY ACT UNDER THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT OF 1924 THAT SUBSTANTIAL NUMBERS OF HOUSES TO LET AT LOW RENTS WERE BUILT—A GREAT MAJORITY BY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES. ★

Labour proposes in the main to use public enterprise again this time—because it is the only way of ensuring that good houses are built at rents that folks can pay, although we will not exclude private building from making its contribution.

THE TORY "CURE"

Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Privy Seal in the "Caretaker" Government, gave the Tory game away when he said at Bradford on 26th May:

★ "HOUSING IS A JOB FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE" ★

Why are the Tories so keen on private enterprise?

Because there are no huge private profits to be made under public enterprise.

Where private contractors built small houses (particularly immediately after the last war) it was frequently found that to keep a high rate of profit, cheap materials were used and the whole job "scamped."

The contractor had no responsibility at all once he had built the house.

★ JERRY BOMBING RUINED 500,000 BRITISH HOUSES IN THE WAR. JERRY BUILDING WILL DO THE SAME IN THE PEACE. ★

Do you know that under "free enterprise" nearly every item of building material is privately controlled by a PRICE RING that is designed to wring the profit out of your pocket?

"Free enterprise" says it will put up all the houses we need.

Without public controls, the first thing it will put up is the cost. And the next thing it will put up is the rent, which the tenant will have to pay.

ONLY PUBLIC ENTERPRISE AND PUBLIC CONTROL OF RENTS, PRICES AND SUPPLIES IN YOUR INTEREST WILL BRING BRITISH PEOPLE THE HOMES THEY HAVE FOUGHT FOR—AND ONLY THE LABOUR PARTY WILL DO IT.

SO BACK THE LABOUR TEAM

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A Call to the Workers

from the

TRADES UNION CONGRESS GENERAL COUNCIL.

FELLOW WORKERS,

The General Election now in progress will determine, for many years to come, the conditions of life and employment of the workers in every industry, trade and profession. It will similarly affect the vital interests of the great host of men and women who served, or are still serving, in the Armed Forces, and the welfare of women and children in the homes.

In fulfilment of our responsibility to the millions of organised workers represented in the Trades Union Congress we declare our endorsement of the decision of the Labour Party to accept the challenge thrown down by Mr. Churchill and the Tory Party. We are completely in accord with the Labour Party's declaration of the firm purpose of our organised Movement to see the war with Japan through to final victory. No change of Government resulting from the present General Election will change the purpose of the British people in this regard.

A change of Government is necessary on other grounds. Mr. Churchill, as Prime Minister, has chosen to identify himself unreservedly with the policy of the Tory Party. His influence as the nation's leader in war is being used by the Tory Party to obtain the power to carry its traditional policy into effect in the coming years of peace.

Reconstruction and Full Employment

The Trades Union Congress stands for the policy of our organised Movement on the problems of post-war reconstruction. The Tory Party's attitude towards all these problems is flatly opposed to the principles upon which even the Coalition Government did its work. Despite the emphatic statement in the Coalition Government's White Paper on Employment Policy, that the transition of industry from war to peace must take place in a planned and orderly way, the Tory Party is already voicing the demands of business interests for the removal of controls which restrict their profiteering activities.

Public Controls

It is the responsibility of the Trades Union Congress General Council, representing the economic and social interests of millions of workpeople and their families, to impress upon the electors that the hasty and ill-considered removal of public controls will make it impossible to put "first things first." It will lead directly and inevitably, in the transitional period, to a steep rise in prices, and an artificial boom, which will be just as inevitably followed by an industrial slump as widespread and severe as any experienced in the years following the last war.

The history of those years should have taught us that only a handful of speculators and profiteers can hope to gain from a transitory inflationary boom. The people as a whole will again suffer greatly. Wages and salaries will lose their purchasing power. The people's savings, the ex-servicemen's gratuities, payments for sickness and accident, the allowances for children, the pensions of widows and aged people, will all be reduced in value. This will be the way in which the people's savings will dwindle. Thus they will be robbed of the benefit of both their labour and their thrift.

The Path to Freedom

This Tory campaign for the immediate removal of public controls is being conducted in the name of freedom. It is the purpose and duty of Trade Unions to defend and to extend the real freedom of all workpeople, both within industry and in all the common interests of their daily lives. We feel bound to warn our fellow trade unionists and all workpeople that if the Tories have their way one of the first attacks they will make will be upon guaranteed wage rates under Essential Work Orders. We feel it to be our obligation to impress upon the workpeople everywhere that controls are necessary as a protection against industrial and economic exploitation, and as a means of enlarging the boundaries of their freedom.

Public Control of Industry

The Trades Union Congress does not expect any Government to embark precipitately upon a vast programme of complete public ownership of all industries and services. But the public ownership of basic industries like coal and power, iron and steel, and of internal transport services, is an immediate necessity. It must be done not only to promote their own efficient development, but as an essential condition of any effective industrial and economic policy, by reason of the influence which these basic industries and services exert on the location and the working of every major economic enterprise.

Shorter Working Hours

The Trades Union Congress knows well that modern industrial technique makes it possible both to produce the goods needed for reconstruction and the improvement of living standards, and to take a great step forward in providing increased leisure for all workpeople. Accordingly the Trades Union Congress has plans for legislation which will facilitate the introduction of a 40-hour week throughout industry without reduction of wages, and provide for a fortnight's holiday with pay for all workers. Unless a beginning is made with this major industrial reform, privately controlled industry in the immediate post-war period will meet the requirements of reconstruction by its normal methods of increased overtime; and when the immediate need is passed, hours of work will be increased and wages will be cut, and a slump will follow. Successive Tory Governments evaded this claim for the shorter working week before the war. A Labour Government will do everything possible to facilitate this major reform.

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POLL FOR THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

The BRITISH LECTOR

VOTE LABOUR

NOV 21 1945

BEVIN TALKS TO THE WORKERS

TO MY FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS — I take this opportunity of expressing my grateful thanks to the Executives, Officers and Members of the Trade Union Movement for their support to the Nation throughout this titanic struggle, and the help given so freely to me, personally, during the past five years, without which I could not have carried through my task.

You will realise from the very nature of the war, that I had to issue many orders and directions, and it was a great help to know that you were watching and holding firmly in your hands the liberties of the workers. Yet, due to your hurrying desire to beat Nazism and Fascism, you reconciled these matters in such a way that the State had the great benefit of the largest mobilisation and output in its history, and you have come out of the war stronger than when you went in.

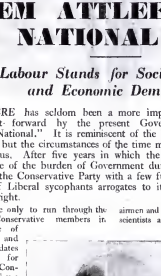
I remember the meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, in 1940, when your Union Executives agreed to compulsory arbitration, and to co-operate in every way to carry the war through successfully. This was a great contribution to Victory.

A word of appreciation is due to you for the way you have carried through dilution and helped the rationing and training of both men and women, and the bringing of their production to such a high state of efficiency.

The response of the women has been magnificent; altogether 7,500,000 came forward, many suffering great inconvenience both in their homes and their factories. But this response made it possible for the Nation to build up a wonderful Army, Navy, and Air Force, and Civil Defence. The Nation owes women a debt which cannot adequately be repaid.

All this was not done without trouble and opposition. My friends in the Midlands will remember that when the Essential Work Order was issued, providing for a Guaranteed Week, and taking away the right of dismissal as well as the right to leave, so bringing order into industry, it was described in the House by my opponents on the Tory Benches as the "Slackers' Charter"—that at a time when the men in that area were working up to 60 and 70 hours per week! The Essential Work Order proved so effective that it was copied over a wide area of the World.

Now as to the future, I have prepared a Demobilisation Scheme which the men in the Forces regard as being fair, but it will have to be administered with great care. At the same time I introduced the Control of Engagement Order, with the object of retransferring in an orderly way the people who became redundant



quickly chaos will ensue. Can it be withdrawn from the mining industry? Can it be withdrawn from the Ministry of Works with the building programme before us? In any case the whole Cabinet was responsible for it, and not myself alone.

We have often talked about the solidarity of Labour. The necessity now is to show it in the political field as well as in the trade union one. We cannot do everything by negotiation in industry. Many of the things you enjoy in industry are due to political action—unemployment benefit, factory conditions, and so on.

I have tried very hard to get the Trade Disputes Act of 1927 amended, but was told that if I pressed it I should break the Coalition and endanger national unity. So even in an elementary thing like that the Die-hards were quite prepared to wreck the unity of our war effort, if we pressed the issue. Well, we put the country first.

CLEM ATTLEE GIVES A NATIONAL LEAD

Labour Stands for Social Justice and Economic Democracy

THERE has seldom been a more impudent claim than that put forward by the present Government to the word "National." It is reminiscent of the late Ramsay Macdonald in 1931, but the circumstances of the time make the claim still more outrageous. After five years in which the Labour Party bore its full share of the burden of Government during the greatest war in history, the Conservative Party with a few functionaries and a small fringe of Liberal sycophants arrogates to itself a title to which it has no right.

You have only to run through the list of Conservative members in the House of Commons and the candidates standing for the safer Conservative seats to see that they belong to two classes only — those who were born rich and those who have achieved riches.

You will look in vain for anyone from the wage-earners. The nearest approach to it will be someone who in his remote youth once worked for a weekly wage.

In the Labour Party on the contrary you will find a remarkable range of experience. There are plenty of men and women educated in the school of life, but many who have studied at the Universities, not a few with high distinction.

All the professions are well represented — doctors, clergy and lawyers. There are employers as well as workers; farmers, practical working farmers, and farm workers. There are writers and printers, working engineers and managing directors of engineering works; soldiers, sailors, airmen and men from the Merchant Navy; scientists and artists, teachers and professors, and women of varied experience.

The Labour Party is in fact a good cross-section of the Nation.

There are foreigners who do not appreciate this fact, and there are people at home who cannot understand it. They say: "I can understand poor men voting Labour, but why should successful and well-to-do people support Socialism?"

The answer is that the Socialist appeal is essentially a moral one. The ultimate principles for which Labour stands are not put forward as ends in themselves, but as necessary of application in order that Britain in its economic and social organisation may satisfy the deep desire of men and women of good will in all classes for social justice and economic democracy.

It is the glory of our movement that men and women in every rank of society place human right and justice before their own individual interests.

Labour's appeal is not to the lowest, but to the highest qualities of the human race.

Again, Labour has always been international in its outlook. We have always had foreign conditions quoted against us. Therefore we have striven through the I.L.O. to raise the standard of life of others in other parts of the world, at the same time building up world trade union organisation.

In the agricultural world we have been convinced that the right way to develop prosperity and secure a better standard of nutrition is by the proper organisation of agricultural products and distribution, and not to leave it either to the tender mercies of monopolies or speculation.

Now as to housing. I am convinced that housing cannot adequately be dealt with in this country unless we apply the same drive that we did for war purposes. All these things depend upon how you vote, and I trust the trade unionists will support on this occasion their own party.

Good luck!

COME ON, JOHN BULL, LET'S GO!

By HERBERT MORRISON

I HAVE been reading the Tory election manifesto, signed by Mr. Churchill. It's a wordy affair.

In an attempt to steal Labour's thunder, there are numerous, somewhat vaguely worded promises of extensive and costly social reforms. At the same time there are wordy promises to reduce taxation in the interests of industry—together with a pretty clear hint that taxation will remain

[illegible]

community.

And throughout there is a bias in favour of capitalist industry going its own sweet way—like it did between the two wars. And you know what the results were during that almost wholly Tory period. The Tory document smells of 1918.

* * *

LABOUR'S "Let Us Face the Future" stands out in sharp contrast. It urged social reform, educational advance, a non-stop housing drive, food, health and full employment.

But the Labour policy document also willed the means. It said that we want these things, but we cannot have them if we drift back to the economic disorder of the years between the wars. That way lies another Geddes Axe.

That would be how the Tory promises would finish up—as they did after 1918.

* * *

THE point was put well in "Let Us Face the Future" (p. 4):—

"The nation needs a tremendous overhaul . . .

"All parties say so—the Labour Party means it. For the Labour Party is prepared to achieve it by drastic policies of replanning and by keeping a firm constructive hand on our whole productive machinery; the Labour Party will put the community first and the sectional interests of private business after. Labour will plan from the ground up—giving an appropriate place to constructive enterprise and private endeavour in the national plan, but dealing decisively with those interests which would use high-sounding talk about economic freedom to cloak their determination to put themselves and their wishes above those of the whole nation."

All the Tory economic arguments are the other way about. Leave it to "free enterprise." You find that so much of our productering industry is neither free nor enterprising. So much of our so-called private enterprise is private UNenterprise. Consider the coal-owners.

* * *

WITHIN the field of economic and industrial policy is the heart of the

POLLING DAY IS YOUR DAY

LABOUR'S FIRST YEAR THE FACTS

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THE RISE
of the
LABOUR PARTY

LABOUR
DISCUSSION
SERIES

NUMBER ONE

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#293

under your nose...

IT is a remarkable fact that when something is happening right under your nose it sometimes escapes your attention completely. Had you noticed, for instance, how much the whole way we arrange our national affairs has improved since the Labour Government came to power? And this in a Britain struggling to recover from six years of devastating war.

1 From April, 1946, 2,500,000 people ceased to pay income tax. The rate of income tax has been reduced.

2 People can spend this money in many new ways. Purchase tax has been lifted from a whole chain of essential goods.

3 The houses are beginning to multiply. Over 42,000 have been built and another 126,000 are now under construction.

4 Since the end of the war over 5,500,000 men and women have been demobilised from the Forces and the munitions industries. This without any mass unemployment.

5 Britain is more than half-way towards her export target. This means an increase in your standard of living before long.

But these things are only a small part of the great new plan which is beginning to unfold under the direction of the Labour Government.

a new plan unfolds

THE LABOUR PARTY

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#294

THE FUTURE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Labour Party's Post-War Policy

3 Dec 10 9 46

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352

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#295

AMERICA *tries private enterprise*

Tory newspapers tell us that the Food situation would somehow suddenly improve if price controls and rationing were removed, and the housewife was left to the mercy of that wonderful fairy godmother Private Enterprise (alias Big Business).

But America has tried this and the result has been extreme hardship to the workers everywhere. At the beginning of July, price controls were abandoned. The effect, as reported by Arthur Webb from Washington in the "Daily Herald" of July 3rd, was :—

> **"Here the people are near panic because they haven't any control at all. They lost their economic umbrella overnight. To-day they are like orphans of the storm, seeking protection from the inflation cyclone."**

And that control has now ended, and prices and rents are shooting upwards.

Even the "Daily Mail" July 3rd, tells the same story :—

> **"Crisis has come to the country.... Orderly government at the moment has vanished.... To-day there is no law to aid the ordinary citizen. Manufacturers and shopkeepers can quite legally charge anything they like for the goods."**

Landlords in America are now, as a result, asking three times the controlled rents, and the price of many foodstuffs has risen 50% in 10 days. Butter doubled in price within a week.

THIS

is what the Tories want to see happening **HERE**

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THE LABOUR PARTY

#296

TRANSPORT HOUSE, SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

January, 1946.

DEAR COLLEAGUE,

MASS MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

The Labour Party has decided to organise a great campaign during 1946 to enrol many thousands of new individual members of the Party and I know I can count on all in our ranks to make this recruiting drive a big success.

The General Election and Municipal Election victories have shown what a vast field of potential recruitment lies open to us and undoubtedly the building-up of a mass membership will greatly strengthen the Party in coping with the many heavy responsibilities in national and local affairs which it has now shouldered.

But the recruitment of large numbers, while a primary object of our campaign, must also be linked with the specialised enrolment of men and women who are particularly well fitted, either by character, ability, or experience, to take on important tasks inside our Movement.

The principal future positions to be filled from the new membership would include Party Office-bearers and key workers in local parties; propagandists; local government candidates; Parliamentary candidates and general Party leadership.

The success of our membership drive will largely be determined by our ability to acquire an adequate number of qualified persons for the above list together with the establishment of effective machinery for carrying out the purposes outlined below.

The work of the Party in this period of national reconstruction demands that new activities be developed in all directions. Among these would be :—

(*a*) methods of management that do not absorb the whole time of Party meetings;

(*b*) the use of Party time and Party gatherings in developing knowledge of political, economic and social problems among Members;

(*c*) the creation of propaganda machinery to present Party policy to the electorate both on the platform and through the written word;

(*d*) education and training for key workers, officers, local government and Parliamentary candidates.

General appeals to the electorate to join the Party will therefore be accompanied by the specialised recruitment of men and women enrolled by direct invitation.

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14

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Labour Party

THE LABOUR PARTY

TRANSPORT HOUSE, SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

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Hon. Treasurer:
Rt. Hon. ARTHUR GREENWOOD, M.P.

Secretary:
MORGAN PHILLIPS

National Agent:
GEORGE R. SHEPHERD

January, 1946

Dear Colleague,

LABOUR DISCUSSION GROUPS

The Labour Party, believing that the next election campaign has in effect begun, should now be making every effort to strengthen the numbers and quality of its membership in anticipation of the strenuous political struggles which lie ahead.

Already Party membership is rising by thousands a week. Young and enthusiastic men and women are streaming into the Labour Party throughout the United Kingdom. Thanks to efforts made in your Party and elsewhere, Labour is now able to throw an even stronger team of active political workers into any election in any part of the country than it was in June, 1945. A further great membership campaign is needed for the early months of 1946; some particulars are given in the enclosed letter.

But our Party cannot be satisfied with numbers alone. Each member should be equipped to play his full part as a good citizen in the fight for Britain's survival in peace and as an effective member of the Party which is leading that critical fight. Each member should therefore have an understanding of the ever more complex processes of modern national and international society. To this end, political and economic education needs to be placed in the forefront of the Labour Party's programme for 1946.

As a first step we are despatching to you a pamphlet, " Do's and Don'ts for a Labour Discussion Group." This suggests that local Labour Parties should follow up the important educational work which has been done during the war in the Fighting Services, especially by A.B.C.A. in the Army, and in Civil Defence. It is hoped that Labour Discussion Groups will eventually be established in every local Party and Women's section for the discussion of current affairs and above all of the programme and progress of the Labour Government. Your Party is asked to appoint someone—if possible a young, keen member with experience of adult education—as Discussion Group Secretary to take charge of this new development of political education in Britain. Regional Councils will be arranging one-day and week-end schools for training Discussion Group Leaders. A National Summer School is being organised at Bangor next summer.

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THE LABOUR PARTY

#298

TRANSPORT HOUSE, SMITH SQUARE, LONDON, S.W.1

Hon. Treasurer: Rt. Hon. ARTHUR GREENWOOD, M.P.

Secretary: MORGAN PHILLIPS

National Agent: GEORGE R. SHEPHERD

Dear Colleague,

SPRING LOCAL ELECTIONS

In connection with the forthcoming District and County Council Elections a special leaflet is being prepared, particulars of which will be sent out later. In the meantime we are considering the question of reprinting " Forge the Link."

" Forge the Link," a copy of which is enclosed herewith, was issued for the November Elections and was greatly appreciated. We could reprint it for the March Local Elections if there were sufficient demand for it. The date " on November 1st " would, of course, be deleted, but it would not be possible to insert another date. An inset or paste-on slip giving this and other particulars could be printed locally. The price would be £2 10s. per 1,000 copies post free.

In order to decide whether or not to reprint this publication we must have some indication of the quantity of copies Local Parties are likely to require. I would be grateful, therefore, if you would please indicate on the attached Order Form the number (if any) copies you are prepared to order and return it to me **not later than Monday, January 21st.**

Please do not send any money at this stage.

With all good wishes for a very happy and successful New Year from

Yours fraternally,

Morgan Phillips

Secretary.

To the Labour Publications Department,
Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

If " Forge the Link " is reprinted I am prepared to take .....copies.

Name .....

Address.....

Organisation .....

Date..... *Constituency No.* .....

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THE LABOUR PARTY

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#299

Hon. Treasurer: Rt. Hon. ARTHUR GREENWOOD, M.P.

Secretary: MORGAN PHILLIPS

National Agent: GEORGE R. SHEPHERD

Dear Colleague,

LITERATURE FOR SPRING LOCAL ELECTIONS

The publications set out below have been prepared for the forthcoming Local Government Elections.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT HANDBOOK (Post free: 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 12 copies, 14s.; 25 copies, £1 7s. 6d.; 50 copies, £2 12s. 6d.).

A new edition of this Handbook, revised for the County and County District Council Elections, is now in the press. We urge Parties to send in orders for it quickly in order to avoid disappointment. In the case of the first edition, many orders were received too late for a reprint to be produced in time for effective use in the Municipal Election campaign. Printers are very short-handed and so printing takes very much longer than before the war.

CONDUCT OF LOCAL ELECTIONS (Post free: 1 copy, 1s. 3d.; 12 copies, 10s.; 25 copies, £1; 50 copies, £1 17s. 6d.).

This covers every aspect of the conduct of County Council, Municipal, District and Parish Council elections in England and Wales. Please send orders for this quickly, too.

FABIAN PAMPHLETS (Post free: 1 copy, 7d.; 12 copies, 5s.).

The Fabian Society has prepared a series of pamphlets on the powers and duties of the different Councils. We can supply copies of these pamphlets from here. The titles are set out on the order form below.

Yours fraternally,

Morgan Phillips

Secretary.

ORDER FORM—SPRING LOCAL ELECTIONS LITERATURE

To the Labour Publications Department,
Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

Please send me the following:

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RT. HON. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

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100 „ ..	12s. 6d.

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LABOUR'S POLICY FOR LAND WORKERS

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GOOD COTTAGES AND FAIR RENTS

GUARANTEED PRICES FOR PRODUCE

A NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE

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BETTER WATER AND LIGHT SUPPLIES

TORIES no longer safe in Rural Seats?

A CANDID TORY INDICTS HIS PARTY

Following are extracts from an article entitled "I Warn the Tory Party," by William Barkley, Parliamentary Correspondent of the *Daily Express*, which appeared in that paper on July 21, 1939 :—

"Who am I to warn them? Just a reporter. A little bit of a Tory myself, perhaps, but one who wonders increasingly what is the use of voting Tory when Tory M.P.s sell up their supporters?

"My serious warning is that the Conservative Party are now no longer safe in the agricultural seats. Once their rural support goes, they go, too. This week has seen signs such as an observer like me never thought to see.

"One day—Tuesday—the Socialist Party, which is built on town and city industrialism, championed the case of the agricultural labourer.

"A miner (Tom Smith, M.P. for Normanton) declared that the country worker was as highly skilled as any factory hand, and should have £2 a week . . . . . .

"Next day—Wednesday—a deputation from the Trades Union Congress called on the Minister of Agriculture, and, in the words of the official statement from the Ministry : 'The deputation expressed the concern of the Trades Union Congress at the decrease of arable acreage and at the decline in the number of agricultural workers. They also emphasised the importance of adjusting the unfair relationship between the wages and conditions of the rural workers and those enjoyed by workers in urban areas.'

"In the statement issued on the same conference from Transport House, it was said : 'The General Council of the T.U.C. were convinced that farm workers have not received their full share of the Government assistance given to the farming industry.'

"My dear Tories, these words are political dynamite. Believe me . . . the Socialist Party at the General Election will stampede the rural voters on the two points :—

(1) The Tories voted against your having £2 a week, and
(2) The agricultural labourer should be as well paid as the factory hand . . . . . "

Labour Party Campaign. Leaflet No. 8 (8.39.1,000), price 3s. 6d. per 1,000 carriage paid from the Labour Publications Dept., Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1. Printed by the Sun Engraving Co. Ltd., Watford. (T.U., all Depts.)

LABOUR X

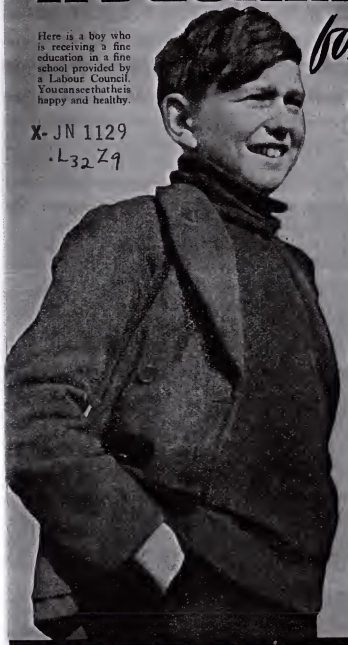
Give Labour the power to carry out that Policy

VOTE LABOUR!

A SQUARE DEAL

for the Young

#304



Here is a boy who is receiving a fine education in a fine school provided by a Labour Council. You can see that he is happy and healthy.

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● Labour's policy aims at giving every child a fair chance, during all the vital years, to grow up healthily and happily and to be properly educated and trained.

●

A LABOUR COUNCIL WILL GIVE THE YOUNG A SQUARE DEAL

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- Medical Care and Treatment
- Education and Training
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HEALTHY BODIES AND HEALTHY MINDS FOR THE CHILDREN OF TO-DAY WHO ARE THE CITIZENS OF TO-MORROW

VOTE LABOUR AT THE COUNCIL ELECTIONS

LABOUR X

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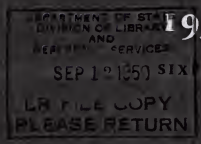
LABOUR AND THE NEW SOCIETY

a statement of the policy and principles of British democratic Socialism



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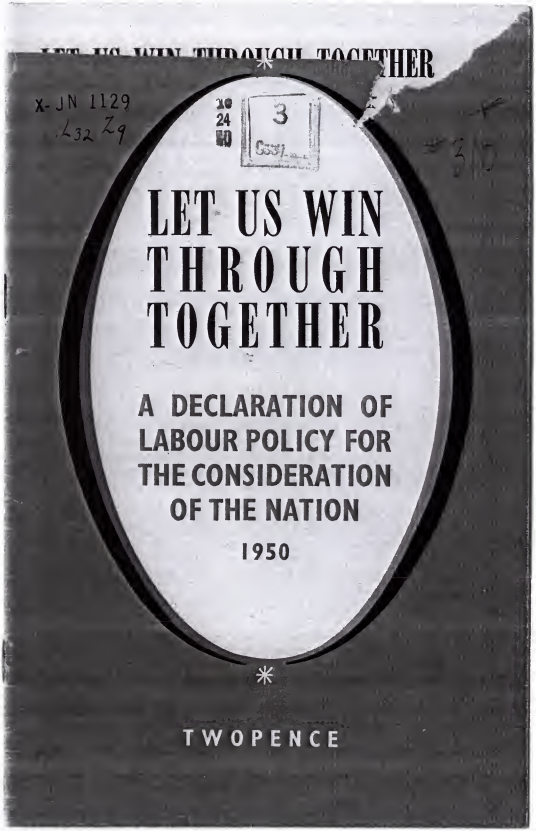
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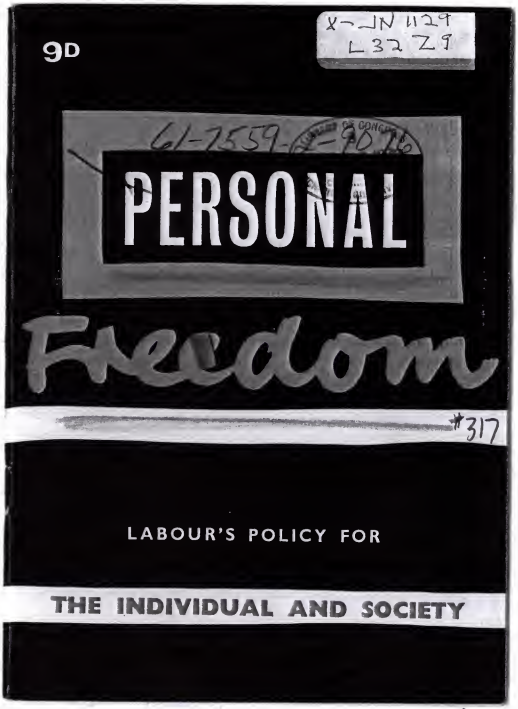
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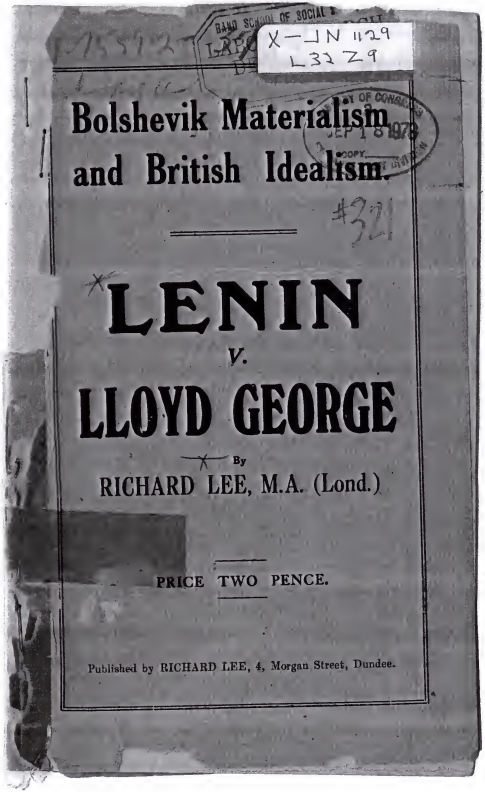
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All the past we leave behind,
We debouch upon a newer, mightier world, varied world,
Fresh and strong the world we seize; world of labour and the march,
Pioneers! O pioneers!

—*Walt Whitman.*

THE LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT,
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A REPLY

TO

"MERRIE . . .

. . .

. . ENGLAND."

. . .

BY

JOHN SMITH,

SENIOR.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

KEIGHLEY:

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The Story of the British Labor Party

#326

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By Morris Hillquit

Until the end of the last century, the workers of Great Britain had no political organization of their own. They believed that their trade unions were sufficient in their fight for better working conditions. They did not perceive that their every-day lives, at home and in the shops, were powerfully influenced by politics. They failed to realize that liberal labor laws could mean better wages, shorter hours, greater protection of life and health in connection with their daily labor, healthier home surroundings, provision against destitution in old age, or in periods of unemployment, and better facilities for the education of their children. It did not occur to them that laws hostile to labor could put heavy obstacles in the struggles of the workers for human existence; that a hostile government with the aid of the military and police force and, above all, the courts, could destroy the usefulness and efficiency of the very trade unions upon which they relied in their struggles.

They ignored the fact that the vital social policies of the government are fashioned by the men in the legislative, judiciary and executive bodies and are determined by the views, sympathies, interests and class ties of these men; that they could elect these men themselves; and that an independent party of labor could break into the political game, exert a direct influence on the government and eventually run it.

HANDICAPPED BY OLD BELIEFS

They were handicapped by the superstitious belief in the "two-party" system of politics. For generations Tories and Whigs, Conservatives and Liberals, had alternated in the control of the British government. The British workers had always voted for the one or the other, just as the workers of America always voted the Republican or the Democratic tickets. When labor issues became more acute, the workers rallied to candidates professing friendship for them, and these were mostly found in the ranks of the Liberal Party, just as the workers here were in the habit of locating their "friends" in the Democratic Party. Towards the end of the last century, the Liberal Party made it a regular practise to name on its ticket a few men from the ranks of organized labor as candidates for the House of Commons. These were known as Liberal-Labor Representatives. They had no consistent political labor program; they were not accountable to definite labor constituencies; they were controlled by the policies of the Liberal Party, and were on the whole quite ineffective for the cause of labor, just as our own "Union-card" members in Congress and in the various state legislatures of necessity have proved to be.

Publ. by Socialist Party

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.L32 Z9

#327

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The Labour Party's 6d. National Monthly

FACT

is well known, and is available from all newsagents. The Party issues other publications which are available by direct subscription from Transport House or through local parties. An annual general literature subscription which costs 15s. entitles the subscriber to all pamphlets, leaflets, handbooks, the Annual Report and the diary. Annual subscription to other publications are as follows:

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#328

YOUTH'S GREAT OPPORTUNITY

YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN!

YOU are on the threshold of life. You are just setting out on your course in the world of industry and business. You will soon be citizens. At twenty-one you are given the vote. Do you realise its importance and appreciate its power? Do you understand that by its use you will be able to take a direct personal part in deciding the conditions in which you and your fellow citizens will work and live?

The right to vote is but the *opportunity* to influence those conditions. The use you make of the vote is *how* you influence them. Each of the political parties will appeal for your support. Do you understand the differences between them? It is essential that you should do so.

THE FOLLY OF THE PAST

The Tory and Liberal Parties stand for the system of society which exists to-day. For many generations they have been the political instruments by which the aristocracy, the landowners, the captains of industry, the financiers, the press magnates, the socially privileged and the favoured rich have dominated the nation. From decade to decade they monopolised the control and exercise of

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#329

S.M.A. Leaflet No. 7

YOUR NEW HEALTH SERVICE

Mr. Aneurin Bevan's National Health Service Bill provides that for the first time a complete health service will be freely available to everyone. It embodies therefore one of the fundamental principles of socialism—to each according to his needs.

The Bill's purpose is to establish a "comprehensive health service designed to secure improvement in the physical and mental health of the people and the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of illness." Its three main provisions—a comprehensive health service available to all without limitations, a unified hospital service, and the establishment of Health Centres—mark a step forward the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. The S.M.A. believes that this Bill, from the point of view of the patient, which must be paramount, will provide a service far in advance of anything yet available in this country and it therefore has our warmest support. From the view-point of the health worker, the Bill for the first time offers him the opportunity of giving of his best under good conditions, and of working in association with other members of the medical team, with all the impetus to professional enthusiasm that this provides.

Hospitals and Specialists

All hospitals, both voluntary and local authority, will be taken over by the Minister of Health and as a result for the first time the opportunity for a unified hospital and specialist service will be provided. Anyone who studies the hospital surveys published recently will find in them ample justification for this step. Hospitals will be run by Regional Hospital Boards, of which there will be some sixteen to twenty for the whole country. The present local authority boundaries are quite illogical and urgently need reform, but this will take time. Since a Regional Hospital Board may cover the area or part of the area of several Counties or County Boroughs, election of these Boards would be very difficult at present and the Bill therefore proposes that their members shall be nominated by the Minister of Health after consulting local organisations, including the medical profession and the local authorities concerned.

Health Centres

The Bill provides that "a main feature of the personal practitioner services is to be the development of Health Centres" in every area. This is a very great step forward. Health Centres will provide facilities for general practitioners and chemists, and for many of the special clinics provided by local authorities, such as ante-natal, and infant welfare clinics. A dental service will be provided but owing to the shortage of dentists, priority will be given to expectant mothers and young people. Midwives and Health Visitors will work from Health Centres, and there is to be a home nursing service. Local authorities are given a new power, to make arrangements for the prevention of illness and the after-care of the sick, which can include such things as special foods and extra comforts. The war-time power of the local authorities to provide home helps, not only during child-birth but in a wider range of circumstances, is to be made permanent, so that domestic help may be provided to any household in which it is needed on grounds of health or age. Health Centres will provide facilities for health

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#330

WHAT'S WRONG WITH DOMESTIC SERVICE ?

WE WANT TO KNOW
WHAT YOU THINK

I. Servants

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9d. for 12 copies.
4s. 6d. for 100 copies.

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CIVIL LIBERTY IN IRELAND.

Under Martial Law and otherwise.

"Martial Law" because of bitter experiences, means very little to an Irishman and its proclamation in December last excited little interest even in the proclaimed districts.

Five-sixths of the whole population of Ireland had been under military rule for nearly five years.

Civil liberty had vanished; nor could the people imagine that anything worse could befall them under a "law" called martial than under a law which for a year past had permitted the British Forces to commit with impunity excesses unknown in civilised war; to burn cities, villages, factories, farms; to murder, flog and terrorise as they pleased.

Now for a moment, dismiss "martial law" from your minds—what is the law under which all Ireland lives? Nearly the whole of it is now contained in one Act, the Restoration of Order Act of August last, which put some final finishing touches to the Defence of the Realm Act. How does an Irish citizen stand under this Act?

ARREST AND DEPORTATION.

Under Regulation No. 14B. a man may be arrested without warrant and transported at five minutes notice to a distant English prison and kept there, if need be, to the end of his life, without knowing why, and without charge or trial. No writ of Habeas Corpus can touch him.

Under this one regulation the whole population of Ireland can legally be deported from its shores. Nor is it a dead letter. It has been in constant use for several years and is now (January, 1921), being used on an enormous scale, as a means of removing local and central leaders of national opinion—Urban and Rural Councillors, Members of Parliament, Merchants, Labour Leaders, Solicitors—as well as a host of humbler people holding Republican views. Some 1,500 persons are now in prison under it, and the number grows every day.

These people are supposed to be treated as prisoners of war—but what of ordinary imprisonment when there is evidence for a conviction?

TRIAL BY COURT MARTIAL.

First, it must be understood that all the criminal law, both for political and ordinary crimes, is now under the control of Soldiers (Reg. 58). A man may be tried by court martial not only for an ambush or a seditious speech, but for trespass, stealing, or murder. Courts martial are a travesty of justice, even if they sit in public. In Ireland they can sit in secret and are not bound to publish their proceedings. On January 14th, it was announced that a Cork court martial had sentenced 60 men to five years penal servitude. On what charge and on what evidence? Nobody knows!

Evidence may be extorted by duress (Reg. 75). A witness, even a child, may be forced to attend and forced to answer questions under pain of six months in gaol. A mother may be compelled thus to incriminate her son on a capital charge.

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THE LABOUR PARTY

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RESOLUTIONS

FOR THE

Twenty-first Annual Conference

To be held at the Dome, Brighton, on Tuesday, June 21st, 1921, at 10 a.m., and three following days.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

1. Voting Cards and Credentials will in every case be sent to Secretaries.
2. Amendments to the Resolutions on this Agenda, and Nominations for the Executive, Treasurer, Conference Arrangements Committee, and Auditors must be sent to the Head Office by May 16th.
3. Fees should be forwarded to the Head Office by May 31st.

33, ECCLESTON SQUARE, LONDON, S.W. 1.

Telephones:
Victoria 8016—8017—8018.

Telegrams:
Labrepcom, Churton, London.

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The Labour Party and Ireland

The Executive Committee calls the attention of every constituent Society of the Labour Party and of every local Labour Party to the very grave situation that has arisen in Ireland, menacing to life and property, destructive of order and discrediting the British Government throughout the civilised world. The Parliamentary Labour Party, whilst losing no opportunity of exposing the scandalous breakdown of the British administration in Ireland, and of protesting against the iniquities involved in the unregulated military tyranny to which that country is now being subjected, finds itself powerless, in face of a mechanical Government majority, to effect any improvement. It is now for the organised Labour Party throughout Great Britain, whilst unequivocally condemning acts of brutality and violence, and murders by whomsoever committed, publicly to dissociate itself from responsibility for the deplorable maladministration exercised in the name, but, as it is confidently believed, against the wishes of the British people.

It will be unnecessary to do more than refer to repeated declarations of the Labour Party in favour of Self-determination for Ireland—a policy in which the Party has never wavered. The British Cabinet by its present climax of failure, has now plainly forfeited whatever rights it may have possessed to govern Ireland. The whole course of events of the past two years has demonstrated the futility of seeking to set limits to the Irish in their framing, for themselves, the Constitution to which they aspire.

There is nothing for it now but—

1. To withdraw all the armed forces;

2. To place the responsibility for maintaining order in each locality in Ireland (as in Great Britain outside the Metropolitan area) on the Local Authorities themselves; and

3. To provide for the immediate election, by proportional representation, of an entirely open Constituent Assembly, charged to work out, at the earliest possible moment, without limitations or fetters, whatever Constitution for Ireland the Irish people desire.

The time has passed when any difficulty can be made about names and titles and forms and ceremonies, insistence on which only creates suspicion and results in misunderstanding. So far as Ireland itself and Irish affairs are concerned, the Labour Party is unequivocally prepared to allow Ireland to assume whatever form of Self-determination the great mass of the Irish people desire, with whatever Constitution, under whatever designation, and with whatever arrangements for local autonomy, and thereby allow Ireland to face its own difficulties in its own way—subject only to two conditions (which were accepted by the Irish Trades Union Congress at its meeting on November 16th) that it afforded protection to minorities, and that the Constitution should prevent Ireland from becoming a military or naval menace to Great Britain.

But Self-determination for Ireland involves also Self-determination for Great Britain. Whatever may be the form or the substance of the future relations between Great Britain and Ireland there are, and must necessarily be many matters (whether postal, fiscal, commercial, judicial, or what not), which on any revision of relations must be arranged by agreement. Moreover, Great Britain has its own obligations, not only to maintain the interests of its own people, but also to secure a proper protection both for Britons in Ireland and for any minority whether religious, political, or geographical. There are,

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YOU VOTED LEFT...

YOU DID RIGHT

3D.

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BRITISH LABOUR AND IRISH PEACE

THE RUINED AREA IN CORK

A VIEW SHOWING THE RUINS OF PATRICK STREET, CORK, AFTER THE FIRES OF DEC. 12

ANOTHER SCENE IN PATRICK STREET, CORK, AFTER THE FIRES OF DEC. 12

Photographs reproduced by kind permission of the Editor of the "Manchester Guardian."]

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Every Family should have this at least—
Do You Agree?

A Decent Self-Contained House for Every Family

Every family should have its own front door, and inside the house should be all the amenities necessary to family life. The house should normally be of the cottage type, WITH ITS OWN GARDEN, and only in exceptional cases should it be a flat.

Sufficient Rooms for the Family

Every house should have a living room (not slept in), as well as a kitchen, and most should also have a parlour. There should be a sufficient number of good-sized bedrooms, with separate bedroom accommodation for males and females over ten years of age.

Decent Amenities and Equipment in Every House

A water-closet and a separate bathroom (with wash-hand basin), both inside the house.

A piped water supply, inside the house; and a hot water supply to kitchen and bathroom.

Electricity and/or gas, with heating "points."

A good-sized pantry for storing food, and a well-equipped kitchen.

Adequate windows, opening directly to the external air, in every room, kitchen, pantry, water-closet and bathroom.

Rents which People can Afford to Pay

Every house entirely free from damp and vermin, and kept in good repair and decorative condition.

The majority of the houses should be let at rents (including rates) of from 5s. to 10s. per week in most parts of the country.

To provide this accommodation, over five million new houses will be needed during the next twenty years.

Labour's plan is to start building them right away, as fast as possible.

VOTE LABOUR

Leaflet No. 40. Printed by the Leicester Co-operative Printing Society Ltd. and Published by the Labour Party. Price 4/- per 1,000, carriage paid, from the Labour Publications Dept., Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1.

WESTMINSTER LABOUR PARTY

(AFFILIATED TO THE LABOUR PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN),

For the "Abbey" and "Hyde Park" Divisions of the City of Westminster.

PRESIDENT:
THE RT. HON. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.

VICE-PRESIDENT:
MR. SIDNEY WEBB.

TREASURER:
MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

HON. SECRETARY:
MR. E. J. HOWELL.

25, Tothill Street,
Westminster,
S.W. 1.

OBJECTS.

To carry out within the City of Westminster the objects of the Labour Party of Great Britain;

To unite the forces of Labour within the area, and to secure the return of Labour representatives to Parliament, and upon Local Government bodies;

To give effect as far as may be practicable to the principles from time to time approved by the Party Conference; and

To secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service.

MEMBERSHIP.

Membership is open—

(i.) To local Branches of Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and Socialist Societies, and to such organisations themselves if centred in Westminster, contributing at the minimum rate of 2d. per annum for the members affiliated; and

(ii.) To individuals (men and women) resident, or having a place of business or other address in the City of Westminster, or otherwise connected with it, who are willing to work for the objects and subscribe to the constitution and programme of the Labour Party, whether they are members of any affiliated organisation or not; and who contribute not less than (men) 1s. per annum, or (women) 6d. per annum.

Those in sympathy with the Labour Party, and eligible as above, are requested to apply for membership on the annexed Form, and to bring the question of affiliation before any local organisation to which they belong.

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Farm Workers!

What you need are three things:

1. **Good Wages.**
2. **A Safe Job.**
3. **A "Free" Cottage.**

The Labour Party is the only Party that can deliver the goods.

Whilst Tories and Liberals talk, Labour acts.

The first act of the first Labour Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Noel Buxton, was to set up the Wages Boards in 1924.

As a direct result of the Buxton Act wages have been increased. In no county is the rate less than 30s. weekly.

The Labour Party wishes to give a higher wage than 30s.: 30s. is an improvement on 25s., but the increase is not enough.

Labour's Agricultural Policy will make it possible for higher wages to be paid. Labour will enable the farm worker to bring up his family under decent and fair conditions.

Labour's policy will also deal with the "tied" cottage evil.

DEEDS COUNT, NOT WORDS.

REMEMBER THE BUXTON ACT,

and

VOTE FOR THE LABOUR PARTY—THE FARM WORKER'S FRIEND.

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RAW MATERIALS

AND THE

PREVENTION OF WAR

By

FRANCIS WILLIAMS

Price
ONE PENNY

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